d. 39

GOOD NEWES

FROM NEW-ENGLAND:

1061. g. 2
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magnæ hortationis fautrix terra Anglia, mei doctrinam
literis (ut et Angli [illegible]R[illegible]nam) famosa.

A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of *Plimoth* in NEW-ENGLAND.

Laudo Deum, & spiritum meum ei; profligandæ hæresis una cum
fide autoritas ut proferas.

Shewing the wondrous providence and goodnes of GOD, in their preservation and continuance, *being delivered from many apparant deaths and dangers.*

Together with a Relation of such religious and civill Lawes and Customes, as are in practise amongst the *Indians*, adjoyning to them at this day. As also *what Commodities are there to be raysed for the maintenance of that and other Plantations in the said Country.*

Written by *E. W.* who hath borne a part in the fore-named troubles, and there liued since their first Arrivall.

LONDON

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GOOD

To the Reader.

GOod Reader, when I first penned this discourse, I intended it chiefly for the satisfaction of my private friends, but since that time haue beene perswaded to publish the same: And therather, because of a disorderly Colony that are dispersed, and most of them returned, to the great preiudice and dammage of him that set them forth; who as they were a staine to old England that bred them, in respect of their liues and manners amongst the Indians: So it is to be feared, will bee no lesse to New-England in their vile and clamorous reports, because shee would not foster them in their desired idle courses. I would not bee vnderstood to thinke there were no wel-deseruing persons amongst them: for of mine owne knowledge it was a griefe to some that they were so yoaked; whose deserts as they were then sutable to their honest protestations, so I desire still may be, in respect of their iust and true Relations.

Peraduenture thou wilt rather maruell that I deale so plainely, then any way doubt of the truth of this my Relation, yea it may be tax me therewith, as seeming rather to discourage men, then any way to further so noble an action? If any honest minde be discouraged, I am sorry, sure

ſure I am, I haue giuen no iuſt cauſe; and am ſo farre from being diſcouraged my ſelfe, as I purpoſe to returne forthwith. And for other light and vaine perſons, if they ſtumble hereat I haue my deſire, accounting it better for them and vs that they keepe where they are, as being vnfit and vnable to performe ſo great a taske.

Some faults haue eſcaped becauſe I could not attend on the Preſſe, which I pray thee correct as thou findeſt, and I ſhall account it as a fauour vnto me.

Thine E. W.

TO ALL WEL-WILLERS AND FVRTHERES OF Plantations in *New England*: especially to such as euer haue or desire to assist, the *people of* Plimoth *in their iust proceedings, Grace, and Peace, bee multiplyed.*

Ight Honorable and Worshipfull Gentlemen, or whatsoeuer: Since it hath pleased God to stir you vp to be instruments of his glory, in so honorable an enterprise as the inlarging of his Maiesties Dominions, by planting his loyall subiects in so healthfull and hopefull a Countrey as *New-England* is; where the Church of God being seated in sincerity, there is no lesse hope of convincing the Heathen of their euill wayes, and converting them to the true knowledge and worship of the liuing God, and so consequently the salvation of their soules by the merits of Iesus Christ, then else-where though it be much talked on, & lightly

or lamely proſecuted. I therefore thinke it but my dutie to offer the view of our proceedings to your worthy conſiderations, hauing to that end compoſed them together thus briefly as you ſee; wherein to your great encouragement, you may behold the good prouidence of God working with you in our preſeruation from ſo many dangerous plots and treacheries, as haue beene intended againſt vs; as alſo in giuing his bleſſing ſo powerfully vpon the weake meanes wee had, inabling vs with health and ability beyond expectation, in our greateſt ſcarcities, and poſſeſſing the hearts of the Saluages with aſtoniſhment and feare of vs, whereas if God had let them looſe, they might eaſily haue ſwallowed vs vp, ſcarce being an handfull in compariſon of thoſe forces they might haue gathered together againſt vs, which now by Gods bleſſing will be more hard and difficult, in regard our number of men is increaſed, our towne better fortified, and our ſtore better victualed. Bleſſed therefore be his name, that hath done ſo great things for vs, & hath wrought ſo great a change amongſt vs.

Accept I pray you my weake endeuours, pardon my vnskilfulneſſe, and beare with my plaineneſſe in the things I haue handled. Bee not diſcouraged by our former neceſſities, but rather incouraged with vs, hoping that as God hath wrought with vs in our beginning of this worthy Worke, vndertaken in his name and feare; ſo he will by vs accompliſh the ſame to his glory and our comfort, if wee neglect not the meanes. I confeſſe, it hath not bin much leſſe chargeable to ſome of you, then hard

and

and difficult to vs, that haue endured the brunt of the battell, and yet ſmall profits returned; onely by Gods mercy wee are ſafely ſeated, houſed, and fortified, by which meanes a great ſtep is made vnto gaine, and a more direct courſe taken for the ſame, then if at firſt we had raſhly and covetouſly fallen vpon it.

Indeed, three things are the overthrow and bane (as I may terme it) of Plantations.

1. The vaine expectation of preſent profit, which too too commonly taketh a principall ſeate in the heart and affection; though Gods glory, &c. is preferred before it in the mouth with proteſtation.

2. Ambition in their Governours and Commanders, ſeeking onely to make themſelues great, and ſlaues of all that are vnder them, to maintaine a tranſitory baſe honour in themſelues, which God oft puniſheth with contempt.

3. The careleſnes of thoſe that ſend over ſupplies of men vnto them, not caring how they bee qualified: ſo that oft times they are rather the Image of men endued with beſtiall, yea, diabolicall affections, then the Image of God, endued with reaſon, vnderſtanding, and holines. I prayſe God I ſpeake not theſe things experimentally, by way of complaint of our owne condition, but having great cauſe on the contrary part to be thankefull to God for his mercies towardes vs: but rather, if there bee any too deſirous of gaine, to intreate them to moderate their affections, and conſider that no man expecteth fruit before the tree be growne; adviſing all men, that as they tender their owne well-fare,

ſo to make choiſe of ſuch to mannage and governe their affayres, as are approued not to be ſeekers of themſelues, but the common good of all for whom they are imployed; and beſeeching ſuch as haue the care of tranſporting men for the ſupply and furniſhing of Plantations, to be truely carefull in ſending ſuch as may further and not hinder ſo good an action. There is no godly honeſt man, but will be helpfull in his kinde, and adorne his profeſſion with an vpright life and converſation, which Doctrine of manners ought firſt to bee Preached by giuing good example to the poore Savage Heathens amongſt whom they liue. On the contrary part, what great offence hath beene giuen by many profane men, who being but ſeeming Chriſtians, haue made Chriſt and Chriſtianitie ſtinke in the noſtrils of the poore Infidels, and ſo laid a ſtumbling blocke before them: *but woe be to them by whom ſuch offences come.*

Theſe things I offer to your Chriſtian conſiderations, beſeeching you to make a good conſtruction of my ſimple meaning, and take in good part this enſuing Relation, dedicating my ſelfe and it euermore vnto your ſeruice; beſeeching God to crowne our Chriſtian and faithfull endeuours with his bleſſings temporall and eternall.

Yours in this ſeruice, euer to be commanded:

E. W.

GOOD NEWES FROM New-England.

THe Good Ship called the *Fortune*, which in the Moneth of *Novemb.* 1621. (blessed be God) brought vs a new supply of 35. persons, was not long departed our Coast, ere the Great people of *Nanohigganset*, which are reported to be many thousands strong, began to breath forth many threats against vs, notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with vs in the fore-going summer. Insomuch as the common talke of our neighbour *Indians* on all sides was of the preparation they made to come against vs. In reason a man would thinke they should haue now more cause to feare vs than before our supply came: but though none of them were present, yet vn-

derstanding by others that they neither brought Armes nor other prouisions with them, but wholly relied on vs, it occasioned them to sleight and braue vs with so many threa s as they did. At length came one of them to vs, who was sent by *Conanacus* their chiefe *Sachim* or King, accompanied with one *Tokamahamon* a friendly *Indian*. This messenger inquired for *Tisquantum* our Interpreter, who not being at home seemed rather to be glad than sorry, and leauing for him a bundle of new arrowes lapped in a rattle Snakes skin, desired to depart with all expedition. But our Gouernours not knowing what to make of this strange cariage, and comparing it with that we had formerly heard, committed him to the custodie of Captaine *Standish*, hoping now to know some certaintie of that we so often heard, either by his owne relation to vs, or to *Tisquantum* at his returne, desiring my selfe, hauing speciall familiaritie with the other fore-named *Indian*, to see if I could learne any thing from him, whose answer was sparingly to this effect; that he could not certainly tell, but thought they were enemies to vs. That night Captaine *Standish* gaue me and another charge of him, and gaue vs order to vse him kindly, and that hee should not want any thing he desired, and to take all occasions to talke and inquire of the reasons of those reports we heard, and withall to signifie that vpon his true relation he should be sure of his owne freedome. At first feare so possest him, that he could scarce say any thing: but in the end became more familiar, and told vs that the messenger which his Master sent in Summer to treat of peace, at his returne perswaded him rather to warre; and to the end he might prouoke him thereunto, (as appeared to him by our reports) detained many of the things were sent him by our Gouernour, scorning the meannesse of them both in respect of what himself had formerly sent, & also of the greatnesse of his owne person; so that he much blamed the former Messenger, saying, that vpon the knowledge of this his false cariage, it would cost him his

life;

life; but assured vs that vpon his relation of our speech then with him to his Master, he would be friends with vs. Of this we informed the Gouernour and his Assistant, and Captaine *Standish*, who after consultation considered him howsoeuer but in the state of a messenger, and it being as well against the Law of Armes amongst them as vs in *Europe*, to lay violent hands on any such, set him at liberty, the Gouernour giuing him order to certifie his Master that he had heard of his large and many threatnings, at which hee was much offended, daring him in those respects to the vtmost, if he would not be reconciled to liue peaceably as other his neighbours; manifesting withall (as euer) his desire of peace; but his feareless resolution, if he could not so liue amongst them. After which he caused meat to be offered him, but he refused to eat, making all speed to returne, and giuing many thanks for his liberty. But requesting the other *Indian* againe to returne, the weather being violent, he vsed many words to perswade him to stay longer, but could not. Whereupon he left him, and said he was with his friends, and would not take a iourney in such extremitie.

After this when *Tisquantum* returned, and the arrowes were deliuered, and the manner of the messengers cariage related, he signified to the Gouernour, that to send the rattle Snakes skin in that manner, imported enmitie, and that it was no better than a challenge. Hereupon after some deliberation, the Gouernour stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and sent it backe, returning no lesse defiance to *Conanacus*, assuring him if hee had shipping now present thereby to send his men to *Nanohiggansets* (the place of his abode) they should not need to come so farre by land to vs: yet withall shewing that they should neuer come vnwelcome or vnlooked for. This message was sent by an *Indian*, and deliuered in such sort, as it was no small terrour to this sauage

King, insomuch as hee would not once touch the powder and shot, or suffer it to stay in his house or Country. Whereupon the Messenger refusing it, another tooke it vp, and hauing beene posted from place to place a long time, at length came whole backe againe.

In the meane time, knowing our owne weakenesse, notwithstanding our high words and loftie lookes towards them, and still lying open to all casualty, hauing as yet (vnder God) no other defence than our Armes, wee thought it most needfull to impale our Towne, which with all expedition wee accomplished in the moneth of February and some few dayes, taking in the top of the Hill vnder which our Towne is seated, making foure bulwarkes or ietties without the ordinarie circuit of the pale, from whence wee could defend the whole Towne: In three whereof are gates, and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captaine *Standish* diuided our strength into foure squadrons or companies, appointing whom hee thought most fit to haue command of each; And at a generall Muster or Trayning, appointed each his place, gaue each his Companie, giuing them charge vpon euery alarum to resort to their Leaders to their appointed place, and in his absence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his Companie to his appointed place for defence, and there together discharged their muskets. After which they brought their new Commanders to their houses, where againe they graced them with their shot, and so departed.

Fearing also left the enemie at any time should take any aduantage by firing our houses, Captaine *Standish* appointed a certaine Companie, that whensoeuer they saw or heard fire to be cryed in the Towne, should onely betake themselues to their Armes, and should

incloſe

incloſe the houſe or place ſo indangered, and ſtand aloofe on their guard, with their backs towards the fire, to preuent trechery, if any were in that kinde intended. If the fire were in any of the houſes of this guard, they were then freed from it, but not otherwiſe, without ſpeciall command.

Long before this time wee promiſed the people of *Maſſachuſet* in the beginning of March to come vnto them, and trade for their Furres, which being then come, we began to make preparation for that voyage. In the meane time, an *Indian* called *Hobbamock*, who ſtill liued in the Towne, told vs, that hee feared the *Maſſachuſets* or *Maſſachuſencks* (for they ſo called the people of that place) were ioyned in confederacy with the *Nanohigganuencks*, or people of *Nanohiggan-ſet*, and that they therefore would take this opportunitie to cut off Captaine *Standiſh* and his company abroad: but howſoeuer in the meane time, it was to be feared that the *Nanohigganeuks* would aſſault the Towne at home, giuing many reaſons for his iealouſie, as alſo that *Tiſquantum* was in the confederacie, who we ſhould finde would vſe many perſwaſions to draw vs from our ſhallops to the *Indians* houſes for their better aduantage. To confirme this his iealouſie he told vs of many ſecret paſſages that paſſed betweene him and others, hauing their meetings ordinarily abroad in the woods: but if at home howſoeuer he was excluded from their ſecrecie, ſaying it was the manner of the *Indians* when they meant plainly to deale openly: but in this his practiſe there was no ſhew of honeſtie.

Hereupon the Gouernour, together with his Aſſiſtant and Captaine *Standiſh*, called together ſuch, as by them were thought moſt meet for aduiſe in ſo weightie a buſineſſe, who after conſideration hereof came to this reſolution; That as hitherto vpon all occaſions betweene them and vs, we had euer manifeſted vndanted courage and reſo-

lution, ſo it would not now ſtand with our ſafetie to mew vp our ſelues in our new-encloſed towne, partly becauſe our Store was almoſt emptie, and therefore muſt ſeeke out for our daily food, without which we could not long ſubſiſt; but eſpecially for that thereby they would ſee vs diſmaied, & be encouraged to proſecute their malicious purpoſes, with more eagerneſſe than euer they intended: whereas on the contrary, by the bleſſing of God, our feareleſſe carriage might be a meanes to diſcourage and weaken their proceedings. And therefore thought beſt to proceed in our trading voyage, making this vſe of that wee heard, to goe the better prouided, and vſe the more carefulneſſe both at home and abroad, leauing the euent to the diſpoſing of the Almightie, whoſe prouidence as it had hitherto beene ouer vs for good, ſo we had now no cauſe (ſaue our ſinnes) to diſpaire of his mercie in our preſeruation and continuance, where wee deſired rather to bee inſtruments of good to the Heathens about vs, than to giue them the leaſt meaſure of iuſt offence.

All things being now in readineſſe, the forenamed Captaine with ten men, accompanied with *Tiſquantum* and *Hobbamock*, ſet forwards for the *Maſſachuſets*: but wee had no ſooner turned the point of the harbour called the *Gurnets noſe* (where being becalmed wee let fall our grapnell, to ſet things to rights, and prepare to row) but there came an Indian of *Tiſquantums* family, running to certaine of our people that were from home with all eagerneſſe, hauing his face wounded, and the bloud ſtill freſh on the ſame, calling to them to repaire home, oft looking behinde him, as if ſome others had him in chaſe, ſaying that at *Namaſchet* (a towne ſome fifteene miles from vs) there were many of the *Nanohiggunſets*, *Maſſaſowat* our ſuppoſed friend, and *Conbatant* our feared enemie, with many others, with a reſolution to take aduantage on the preſent opportunitie, to aſſault the towne in the Captaines abſence, affirming that he receiued the wound in his face for

ſpeaking

speaking in our behalfe, and by sleight escaped, looking oft backward, as if he suspected them to be at hand. This he affirmed againe to the Gouernour, whereupon he gaue command that three peece of Ordnance should bee made ready and discharged, to the end that if we were not out of hearing, we might returne thereat. Which we no sooner heard, but wee repaired homeward with all conuenient speed, arming our selues, and making all in readinesse to fight. When wee entred the harbour, we saw the Towne likewise on their guard, whither we hasted with all conuenient speed. The newes being made knowne vnto vs, *Hobbamock* said flatly that it was false, alluring vs of *Massassowats* faithfulnesse; howsoeuer he presumed he would neuer haue vndertaken any such act without his priuitie, himselfe being a Pinse, that is, one of his chiefest champions or men of valour, it being the manner amongst them not to vndertake such enterprises without the aduice and furtherance of men of that ranke. To this the Gouernour answered, hee should be sorry that any iust and necessarie occasions of warre should arise betweene him and any the Sauages, but especially *Massassowat*, not that hee feared him more than the rest, but because his loue more exceeded towards him than any. Whereunto *Hobbamock* replyed; There was no cause wherefore hee should distrust him, and therefore should doe well to continue his affections.

But to the end things might be made more manifest, the Gouernour caused *Hobbamock* to send his wife with all priuacie to *Puckanokick* the chiefe place of *Massassowats* residence, (pretending other occasions) there to informe herselfe, and so vs, of the right state of things. When shee came thither, and saw all things quiet, and that no such matter was or had beene intended, told *Massassowat* what had hapned at *Plimoth*, (by them called *Patuxet*) which when hee vnderstood, he

was

was much offended at the cariage of *Tisquantum*, returning many thanks to the Gouernour for his good thoughts of him; and assuring him that according to their first Articles of peace, he would send word and giue warning when any such businesse was towards.

Thus by degrees wee began to discouer *Tisquantum*, whose ends were onely to make himselfe great in the eyes of this Country-men, by meanes of his neerenesse and fauour with vs, not caring who fell so hee stood. In the generall, his course was to perswade them hee could lead vs to peace or warre at his pleasure, and would oft threaten the *Indians*, sending them word in a priuate manner, wee were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby hee might get gifts to himselfe to worke their peace, insomuch as they had him in greater esteeme than many of their *Sachims*; yea they themselues sought to him, who promised them peace in respect of vs; yea and protection also, so as they would resort to him. So that whereas diuers were wont to relie on *Massassowat* for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leaue him, and seeke after *Tisquantum*. Now though hee could not make good these his large promises, especially because of the continued peace betweene *Massassowat* and vs, he therefore raised this false alarum, hoping whilest things were hot in the heat of bloud, to prouoke vs to march into his Country against him, whereby he hoped to kindle such a flame as would not easily be quenched, and hoping if that blocke were once remoued, there were no other betweene him and honour; which he loued as his life, and preferred before his peace. For these and the like abuses, the Gouernour sharply reproued him, yet was hee so necessarie and profitable an instrument, as at that time wee could not misse him. But when wee vnderstood his dealings, we certified all the *Indians* of our ignorance and innocencie therein, assuring them

them till they begun with vs, they should haue no cause to feare. And if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liers and seekers of their and our disturbance, which gaue the *Indians* good satisfaction on all sides.

After this wee proceeded in our voyage to the *Massachusets*, where wee had good store of Trade, and (blessed be God) returned in safety, though driuen from before our Towne in great danger and extremitie of weather.

At our returne, wee found *Massassowat* at the Plantation, who made his seeming iust Apologie for all former matters of accusation, being much offended and inraged against *Tisquantum*, whom the Gouernour pacified as much as hee could for the present. But not long after his departure, hee sent a messenger to the Gouernour, intreating him to giue way to the death of *Tisquantum*, who had so much abused him. But the Gouernour answered; Although hee had deserued to die both in respect of him and vs; yet for our sakes hee desired hee would spare him, and the rather because without him hee knew not well how to vnderstand himselfe, or any other the *Indians*. With this answer the messenger returned, but came againe not long after, accompanied with diuers others, demanding him from *Massassowat* their Master, as being one of his subiects, whom by our first Articles of peace wee could not retaine: yet because hee would not willingly doe it without the Gouernours approbation, offered him many Beuers skins for his consent thereto, saying, that according to their manner, their *Sachim* had sent his owne knife, and them therewith, to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him. To which the Gouernour answered; It was not the manner of the *English* to sell mens liues at a price, but

when they had deserued iustly to die, to giue them their reward, and therefore refused their Beauers as a gift: but sent for *Tisquantum*, who though hee knew their intent, yet offered not to flie, but came and accused *Hobbamock* as the author and worker of his ouerthrow; yeelding himselfe to the Gouernour to bee sent or not according as hee thought meet. But at the instant, when our Gouernour was ready to deliuer him into the hands of his Executioners, a Boat was seene at Sea to crosse before our Towne, and fall behinde a head-land not farre off: whereupon, hauing heard many rumors of the *French*, and not knowing whether there were any combination betweene the Sauages and them, the Gouernour told the *Indians*, he would first know what Boat that was ere he would deliuer him into their custodie. But being mad with rage, and impatient at delay, they departed in great heat.

Here let mee not omit one notable (though wicked) practise of this *Tisquantum*, who to the end he might possesse his Countrymen with the greater feare of vs, and so consequently of himselfe, told them wee had the plague buried in our store-house, which at our pleasure wee could send forth to what place or people wee would, and destroy them therewith, though wee stirred not from home. Being vpon the fore-named brabbles sent for by the Gouernour to this place, where *Hobbamock* was and some other of vs, the ground being broke in the middest of the house, (whereunder certaine barrels of powder were buried, though vnknowne to him) *Hobbamock* asked him what it meant? To whom he readily answered; That was the place wherein the plague was buried, whereof hee formerly told him and others. After this *Hobbamock* asked one of our people, whether such a thing were, and whether wee had such

command

command of it? Who answered no; But the God of the English had it in store, and could send it at his pleasure to the destruction of his and our enemies.

This was, as I take it, about the end of May 1622. At which time our store of victuals was wholly spent, hauing liued long before with a bare and short allowance: The reason was, that supply of men before mentioned, which came so vnprouided, not landing so much as a barrell of bread or meale for their whole company, but contrariwise receiued from vs for their ships store homeward. Neither were the setters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein, but rather certaine amongst our selues, who were too prodigall in their writing and reporting of that plenty we enioyed. But that I may returne.

This Boat proued to be a Shallop that belonged to a fishing ship, called the Sparrow, set forth by Master *Thomas Weston*, late Merchant and Citizen of London, which brought six or seuen passengers at his charge, that should before haue beene landed at our Plantation, who also brought no more prouision for the present than serued the Boats gang for their returne to the ship, which made her voyage at a place called *Damarins Coue* neere *Munhiggen* some forty leagues from vs North-east-ward; about which place there fished aboue thirty saile of ships, and whither my selfe was imployed by our Gouernour, with orders to take vp such victuals as the ships could spare, where I found kinde entertainment and good respect, with a willingnesse to supply our wants: But being not able to spare that quantitie I required, by reason of the necessitie of some amongst themselues, whom they supplied before my comming, would not take any Bils for the same, but did what they could freely, wishing their store had beene such as they might

in greater measure haue expressed their owne loue, and supplied our necessities, for which they sorrowed, prouoking one another to the vtmost of their abilities: which although it were not much amongst so many people as were at the Plantation, yet through the prouident and discreet care of the Gouernours, recouered and preserued strength till our owne crop on the ground was ready.

Hauing dispatched there, I returned home with all speed conuenient, where I found the state of the Colonie much weaker than when I left it: for till now wee were neuer without some bread, the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others. But here it may be said, if the Country abound with Fish and Fowle in such measure as is reported, how could men vndergoe such measure of hardnesse, except through their owne negligence? I answer; Euery thing must be expected in its proper season. No man, as one saith, will goe into an Orchard in the Winter to gather Cherries: so hee that lookes for Fowle there in the Summer, will be deceiued in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with vs, is from the beginning of October to the end of March: but these extremities befell vs in May and Iune. I confesse that as the Fowle decrease, so Fish increase. And indeed their exceeding abundance was a great cause of increasing our wants. For though our Bay and Creekes were full of Basse, and other fish, yet for want of fit and strong Saynes, and other netting, they for the most part brake thorow and carried all away before them. And though the Sea were full of Cod, yet wee had neither tackling nor harseis for our Shallops. And indeed had wee not beene in a place where diuers sorts of shell-fish are that may be taken with the hand, wee must haue perished, vnlesse God had raised

ſed ſome vnknowne or extraordinary meanes for our preſeruation.

In the time of theſe ſtreits (indeed before my going to *Munbiggen*) the *Indians* began againe to caſt forth many inſulting ſpeeches, glorying in our weakneſſe, and giuing out how eaſie it would be ere long to cut vs off. Now alſo *Maſſaſſowat* ſeemed to frowne on vs, and neither came or ſent to vs as formerly. Theſe things occaſioned further thoughts of Fortification: And whereas wee haue a Hill called the Mount, incloſed within our pale, vnder which our Towne is ſeated, wee reſolued to erect a Fort thereon, from whence a few might eaſily ſecure the Towne from any aſſault the *Indians* can make, whileſt the reſt might be imployed as occaſion ſerued. This worke was begun with great eagerneſſe, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finiſhed, and a continuall guard there kept, it would vtterly diſcourage the Sauages from hauing any hopes or thoughts of riſing againſt vs. And though it tooke the greateſt part of our ſtrength from dreſſing our corne, yet (life being continued) we hoped God would raiſe ſome meanes in ſtead thereof for our further preſeruation.

In the end of Iune, or beginning of Iuly, came into our harbour two ſhips of Maſter *Weſtons* aforeſaid, the one called the *Charitie*, the other the *Swan*, hauing in them ſome fifty or ſixty men ſent ouer at his owne charge to plant for him. Theſe we receiued into our Towne, affording them whatſoeuer curteſie our meane condition could afford. There the *Charitie*, being the bigger ſhip, left them, hauing many paſſengers which ſhee was to land in *Virginia*. In the meane time, the body of them refreſhed themſelues at *Plimoth*, whileſt ſome moſt fit ſought out a place for them. That little ſtore of corne wee had,

was exceedingly wasted by the vniust and dishonest walking of these strangers, who though they would sometimes seeme to helpe vs in our labour about our corne, yet spared not day and night to steale the same, it being then eatable, and pleasant to taste, though greene and vnprofitable. And though they receiued much kindnesse, set light both by it and vs; not sparing to requite the loue wee shewed them, with secret backbitings, reuilings, &c. the chiefe of them being forestaled and made against vs, before they came, as after appeared: Neuertheleſſe for their Masters sake, who formerly had deserued well from vs, wee continued to doe them whatsoeuer good or furtherance wee could, attributing these things to the want of conscience and discretion, expecting each day, when God in his prouidence would disburden vs of them, sorrowing that their Ouer-seers were not of more abilitie and fitnesse for their places, and much fearing what would be the issue of such raw and vnconscionable beginnings.

At length their Coasters returned, hauing found in their iudgement a place fit for plantation, within the Bay of the *Massachusets*, at a place called by the Indians *Wichaguscusset*. To which place the bodie of them went with all conuenient speed, leauing still with vs such as were sicke and lame, by the Gouernours permission, though on their parts vndeserued, whom our Surgeon by the helpe of God recouered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occasion serued.

They had not beene long from vs, ere the Indians filled our eares with clamours against them, for stealing their corne, and other abuses conceiued by them. At which wee grieued the more, because the same men, in mine owne hearing, had beene earnest in perswading Captaine *Standish*, before their comming to solicite our

Gouernour

Goruernour to ſend ſome of his men to plant by them, alledging many reaſons how it might be commodious for vs. But we knew no meanes to redreſſe thoſe abuſes, ſaue reproofe, and aduiſing them to better walking, as occaſion ſerued.

In the end of *Auguſt* came other two ſhips into our harbour, the one (as I take it) was called the *Diſcouerie*, Captaine *Iones* hauing the command thereof, the other was that ſhip of Mr. *Weſtons* called the *Sparrow*, which had now made her voyage of fiſh, and was conſorted with the other, being both bound for *Virginia*. Of Captaine *Iones* wee furniſhed our ſelues of ſuch prouiſions as we moſt needed, and he could beſt ſpare, who as hee vſed vs kindly, ſo made vs pay largely for the things wee had. And had not the Almightie, in his All-ordering Prouidence, directed him to vs, it would haue gone worſe with vs, than euer it had beene, or after was: for, as wee had now but ſmall ſtore of corne for the yeere following: ſo for want of ſupply, wee were worne out of all manner of trucking-ſtuffe, not hauing any meanes left to helpe our ſelues by trade; but, through Gods good mercie towards vs, he had wherewith, and did ſupply our wants on that kinde competently.

In the end of *September*, or beginning of *October*, Mr. *Weſtons* biggeſt ſhip called the *Charitie*, returned for *England*, and left their Colony ſufficiently victualled, as ſome of moſt credit amongſt them reported. The leſſer, called the *Swan*, remained with his Colony for their further helpe. At which time they deſired to ioyne in partnerſhip with vs to trade for corne; to which our Gouenour and his Aſſiſtant agreed vpon ſuch equall conditions, as were drawne and confirmed betweene them and vs. The chiefe places aimed at were to the Southward of *Cape Cod*, and the more becauſe *Tiſquantum*, whoſe peace before this time

was

was wrought with *Massasowat*, vndertooke to discouer vnto vs that supposed, and still hoped passage within the Sholes.

Both Colonies being thus agreed, and their companies fitted and ioyned together, wee resolued to set forward, but were oft crossed in our purposes; as first Master *Richard Greene*, brother in Law to Master *Weston*, who from him had a charge in the ouersight and gouernment of his Colony, died suddenly at our Plantation, to whom wee gaue buriall befitting his place, in the best manner wee could. Afterward, hauing further order to proceed by letter from their other Gouernour at the *Massachusets*, twice Captaine *Standish* set forth with them, but were driuen in againe by crosse and violent windes: himselfe the second time being sicke of a violent feuer. By reason whereof (our owne wants being like to bee now greater than formerly; partly, because wee were enforced to neglect our corne, and spend much time in fortification, but especially because such hauocke was made of that little wee had, through the vniust and dishoneſt carriage of those people before mentioned, at our first entertainment of them) our Gouernour in his owne person supplyed the Captaines place, and in the month of *Nouember* againe set forth, hauing *Tisquantum* for his Interpreter and Pilot, who affirmed hee had twice passed within the Sholes of *Cape Cod*, both with *English* and *French*. Neuertheleſſe, they went so farre with him, as the Master of the ship saw no hope of passage: but being (as hee thought) in danger, bare vp, and according to *Tisquantums* directions, made for an harbour not farre from them, at a place called *Manamoycke*, which they found, and sounding it with their shallop found the channell, though but narrow and crooked, where at length they harboured the ship. Here they perceiued that the tide set in and out with more violence at some

other

other place more Southerly, which they had not seene, nor could discouer, by reason of the violence of the season all the time of their abode there. Some iudged the entrance thereof might bee beyond the Sholes, but there is no certaintie thereof as yet knowne. That night the Gouernour accompanied with others, hauing *Tisquantum* for his Interpreter went ashore; At first the Inhabitants plaied least in sight, because none of our people had euer beene there before; but vnderstanding the ends of their comming, at length came to them, welcomming our Gouernour according to their Sauage manner, refreshing them verie well with store of venison and other victuals, which they brought them in great abundance, promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladnesse of the occasion: yet their ioy was mixed with much iealousie, as appeared by their after practises: for at first they were loath their dwellings should bee knowne, but when they saw our Gouernours resolution to stay on the shore all night, they brought him to their houses, hauing first conuayed all their stuffe to a remote place, not farre from the same, which one of our men walking forth occasionally espied; whereupon, on the sudden, neither it nor them could bee found, and so many times after vpon conceiued occasions, they would bee all gone, bag and baggage: But being afterwards (by *Tisquantums* meanes) better perswaded, they left their iealousie and traded with them; where they got eight hogsheads of corne and beanes, though the people were but few. This gaue our Gouernour and the company good encouragement. *Tisquantum* being still confident in the passage, and the Inhabitants affirming, they had seene ships of good burthen passe within the Sholes aforesaid. But here, though they had determined to make a second assay, yet God had otherwayes disposed, who strucke *Tisquantum* with sicknesse, in so much as hee

there died, which crossed their Southward trading, and the more because the Masters sufficiencie was much doubted, and the season verie tempestuous, and not fit to goe vpon discouerie, hauing no guide to direct them.

From thence they departed, and the wind being faire for the *Massachusets* went thither, and the rather because the Sauages vpon our motion had planted much corne for vs, which they promised not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great sickenesse to be amongst the *Indians*, not vnlike the plague, if not the same. They renued their complaints to our Gouernour, against that other plantation feared by them, for their iniurious walking. But indeed the trade both for Furres and corne was ouerthrowne in that place, they giuing as much for a quart of corne, as we vsed to doe for a Beauers skin; so that little good could be there done. From thence they returned into the bottome of the Bay of Cape Cod, to a place called *Nausset*, where the *Sachim* vsed the Gouernour very kindly, and where they bought eight or ten hogsheads of corne and beanes. Also at a place called *Martachiest*, where they had like kind entertainment and corne also. During the time of their trade in these places, there were so great and violent stormes, as the ship was much endangered, and our shallop cast away, so that they had now no meanes to carry the corne aboard that they had bought, the ship riding by their report well neere two leagues from the same, her owne Boat being small, and so leake, (hauing no Carpenter with them) as they durst scarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the Gouernour caused the corne to be made in a round stack, and bought mats, and cut sedge to couer it, and gaue charge to the *Indians* not to meddle with it, promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keep vermine also from it, which he vndertooke, and the

Sachim

Sachim promised to make good. In the meane time, according to the Gouernours request, the *Sachim* sent men to seeke the shallop, which they found buried almost in sand at a high-water marke, hauing many things remaining in her, but vnseruiceable for the present; whereof the Gouernour gaue the *Sachim* speciall charge that it should not be further broken, promising ere long to fetch both it and the corne; assuring them, if neither were diminished, he would take it as a signe of their honest and true friendship, which they so much made shew of; but if they were, they should certainly smart for their vniust and dishonest dealing, and further make good whatsoeuer they had so taken. So he did likewise at *Mattachiest*, and tooke leaue of them, being resolued to leaue the ship, and take his iourney home by land with our owne company, sending word to the ship, that they should take their first opportunitie to goe for *Plimoth*, where hee determined, by the permission of God, to meet them. And hauing procured a Guide, it being no lesse than fifty miles to our Plantation, set forward, receiuing all respect that could be from the *Indians* in his iourney, and came safely home, though weary and surbated, whither some three daies after the ship also came. The corne being diuided which they had got, Master *Westons* company went to their owne Plantation, it being further agreed, that they should returne with all conuenient speed, and bring their Carpenter, that they might fetch the rest of the corne, and saue the shallop.

At their returne, Captaine *Standish* being recouered and in health, tooke another shallop, and went with them to the corne, which they found in safety as they left it: also they mended the other shallop, and got all their corne aboard the ship. This was in Ianuary, as I take it, it being very cold and stormy, insomuch as (the harbour being none of the best) they were constrained to cut both the shallops from the ships sterne,

there died, which crossed their Southward trading, and the more because the Masters sufficiencie was much doubted, and the season verie tempestuous, and not fit to goe vpon discouerie, hauing no guide to direct them.

From thence they departed, and the wind being faire for the *Massachusets* went thither, and the rather because the Sauages vpon our motion had planted much corne for vs, which they promised not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great sickenesse to be amongst the *Indians*, not vnlike the plague, if not the same. They renued their complaints to our Gouernour, against that other plantation feated by them, for their iniurious walking. But inde the trade both for Furres and corne was ouerthrowne in that place, they giuing as much for a quart of corne, as we vsed to doe for a Beauers skin; so that little good could be there done. From thence they returned into the bottome of the Bay of Cape Cod, to a place called *Nunset*, where the *Sachim* vsed the Gouernour very kindly, and where they bought eight or ten hogsheads of corne and beanes. Also at a place called *Mattachiest*, where they had like kind entertainment and corne also. During the time of their trade in these places, there were so great and violent stormes, as the ship was much endangered, and our shallop cast away, so that they had now no meanes to carry the corne aboard that they had bought, the ship riding by their report well neere two leagues from the same, her owne Boat being small, and so leake, (hauing no Carpenter with them) as they durst scarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the Gouernour caused the corne to be made in a round stack, and bought mats, and cut sedge to couer it, and gaue charge to the *Indians* not to meddle with it, promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keep vermine also from it, which he vndertooke, and the

Sachim

Sachim promiſed to make good. In the meane time, according to the Gouernours requeſt, the *Sachim* ſent men to ſeeke the ſhallop, which they found buried almoſt in ſand at a high-water marke, hauing many things remaining in her, but vnſeruiceable for the preſent; whereof the Gouernour gaue the *Sachim* ſpeciall charge that it ſhould not be further broken, promiſing ere long to fetch both it and the corne; aſſuring them, if neither were diminiſhed, he would take it as a ſigne of their honeſt and true friendſhip, which they ſo much made ſhew of; but if they were, they ſhould certainly ſmart for their vniuſt and diſhoneſt dealing, and further make good whatſoeuer they had ſo taken. So he did likewiſe at *Mattachieſt*, and tooke leaue of them, being reſolued to leaue the ſhip, and take his iourney home by land with our owne company, ſending word to the ſhip, that they ſhould take their firſt opportunitie to goe for *Plimath*, where hee determined, by the permiſſion of God, to meet them. And hauing procured a Guide, it being no leſſe than fifty miles to our Plantation, ſet forward, receiuing all reſpect that could be from the *Indians* in his iourney, and came ſafely home, though weary and ſurbated, whither ſome three daies after the ſhip alſo came. The corne being diuided which they had got, Maſter *Weſtons* company went to their owne Plantation, it being further agreed, that they ſhould returne with all conuenient ſpeed, and bring their Carpenter, that they might fetch the reſt of the corne, and ſaue the ſhallop.

At their returne, Captaine *Standiſh* being recouered and in health, tooke another ſhallop, and went with them to the corne, which they found in ſafety as they left it: alſo they mended the other ſhallop, and got all their corne aboard the ſhip. This was in Ianuary, as I take it, it being very cold and ſtormy, inſomuch as (the harbour being none of the beſt) they were conſtrained to cut both the ſhallops from the ſhips ſterne,

and so lost them both a second time. But the storme being ouer, and seeking out, they found them both, not hauing receiued any great hurt. Whilest they were at *Nauset*, hauing occasion to lie on the shore, laying their shallop in a Creeke not far from them, an *Indian* came into the same, and stole certaine Beads, Cisers, and other trifles out of the same, which when the Captaine missed, he tooke certaine of his company with him, and went to the *Sachim*, telling him what had hapned, and requiring the same againe, or the party that stole them, (who was knowne to certaine of the *Indians*) or else he would reuenge it on them before his departure, and so tooke leaue for that night being late, refusing whatsoeuer kindnesse they offered. On the morrow, the *Sachim* came to their randeuow, accompanied with many men, in a stately manner, who saluting the Captaine in this wise; He thrust out his tongue, that one might see the root thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wrist to the fingers end, withall bowing the knee, striuing to imitate the English gesture, being instructed therein formerly by *Tisquantum*: his men did the like, but in so rude and sauage a manner, as our men could scarce forbeare to break out in open laughter. After salutation, he deliuered the Beads, & other things, to the Captaine, saying, he had much beaten the partie for doing it, causing the women to make bread, and bring them, according to their desire, seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed, and came home in safety; where the corne was equally diuided, as before.

After this the Gouernour went to two other inland Townes, with another company, and bought corne likewise of them, the one is called *Namasket*, the other *Nanamet*. That from *Namasket* was brought home partly by *Indian* women; but a great sickneſſe arising amongst them, our owne men were inforced to fetch

home

home the reſt. That at *Manomet* the Gouernour left in the *Sachims* cuſtody: this Towne lieth from vs South well neere twenty miles, and ſtands vpon a freſh riuer, which runneth into the Bay of *Nauohigganſet*, and cannot be leſſe than ſixty miles from thence. It will beare a boat of eight or ten tunne to this place. Hither the Dutch or French, or both vſe to come. It is from hence to the Bay of Cape Cod about eight miles; out of which Bay it floweth into a Creeke ſome ſix miles almoſt direct towards the Towne. The heads of the Riuer, and this Creeke are not far diſtant. This Riuer yeeldeth thus high, Oyſters, Muſcles, Clams, and other ſhell-fiſh, one in ſhape like a beane, another like a Clam, both good meat, and great abundance at all times; beſides it abounderh with diuers ſorts of freſh fiſh in their ſeaſons. The Gouernour or *Sachim* of this place, was called *Canacum*, who had formerly, as well as many others, (yea all with whom as yet we had to doe) acknowledged themſelues the ſubiects of our Soueraigne Lord the King. This *Sachim* vſed the Gouernour very kindly, and it ſeemed was of good reſpect and authoritie amongſt the *Indians*. For whileſt the Gouernour was there within night in bitter weather, came two men from *Manamoiſk* before ſpoken of, and hauing ſet aſide their bowes and quiuers, according to their manner, ſate downe by the fire, and tooke a pipe of Tobacco, not vſing any words in that time, nor any other to them, but all remained ſilent, expecting when they would ſpeake: At length they looked toward *Canacum*, and one of them made a ſhort ſpeech, and deliuered a preſent to him from his *Sachim*, which was a basket of Tobacco, and many Beads, which the other receiued thankfully. After which hee made a long ſpeech to him, the contents hereof was related to vs by *Hobbamock* (who then accompanied the Gouernour for his Guide) to be as followeth; It hapned that two of their men fell out as they were in game (for they vſe

vse gaming as much as any where, and will play away all, euen their skin from their backs, yea and for their wiues skins also, though it may be they are many miles distant from them, as my selfe haue seene) and growing to great heat, the one killed the other. The actor of this fact was a *Powah*, one of special note amongst them, and such an one as they could not well misse, yet another people greater than themselues threatned them with warre, if they would not put him to death. The party offending was in hold, neither would their *Sachim* doe one way or other till their returne, resting vpon him for aduice and furtherance in so weighty a matter. After this there was silence a short time; at length men gaue their iudgement what they thought best. Amongst others, he asked *Hobbamock* what he thought? Who answered, he was but a stranger to them, but thought it was better that one should die than many, since he had deserued it, and the rest were innocent; whereupon he passed the sentence of death vpon him.

Not long after (hauing no great quantitie of corne left) Captaine *Standish* went againe with a shallop to *Adattachiest*, meeting also with the like extremitie of weather, both of wind, snow, and frost, insomuch as they were frozen in the harbour the first night they entred the same. Here they pretended their wonted loue, and spared them a good quantity of corne to confirme the same: Strangers also came to this place, pretending only to see him and his company, whom they neuer saw before that time, but intending to ioyne with the rest to kill them, as after appeared. But being forced through extremitie to lodge in their houses, which they much prest, God possessed the heart of the Captaine with iust iealousie, giuing strait command, that as one part of his company slept, the rest should wake, declaring some things to them which hee vnderstood, where of hee could make no

good construction. Some of the *Indians* spying a fit opportunitie, stole some beads also from him, which hee no sooner perceiued, hauing not aboue six men with him, drew them all from the Boat, and set them on their guard about the *Sachims* house, where the most of the people were, threatning to fall vpon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith restore them, signifying to the *Sachim* especially, and so to them all, that as he would not offer the least iniury; so hee would not receiue any at their hands, which should escape without punishment or due satisfaction. Hereupon the *Sachim* bestirred him to finde out the party, which when he had done, caused him to returne them againe to the shallop, and came to the Captaine, desiring him to search whether they were not about the Boat, who suspecting their knauery, sent one, who found them lying openly vpon the Boats cuddy; yet to appease his anger, they brought corne afresh to trade, insomuch as he laded his shallop, and so departed. This accident so daunted their courage, as they durst not attempt any thing against him. So that through the good mercy and prouidence of God they returned in safety. At this place the *Indians* get abundance of Bulle both summer and winter: for it being now February they abounded with them.

In the beginning of March, hauing refreshed himselfe, he tooke a shallop, and went to *Manomet*, to fetch home that which the Gouernour had formerly bought, hoping also to get more from them, but was deceiued in his expectation, not finding that entertainment hee found else-where, and the Gouernour had there receiued. The reason whereof, and of the treachery intended in the place before spoken of, was not then knowne vnto vs, but afterwards: wherein may be obserued the abundant mercies of God working with his prouidence for our good. Captaine *Standish* being now far from

from the Boat, and not aboue two or three of our men with him, and as many with the ſhallop, was not long at *Canacum* the *Sachims* houſe, but in came two of the *Maſſachuſet* men, the chiefe of them was called *Wituwamat*, a notable inſulting villaine, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the bloud of *Engliſh* and *French*, and had oft boaſted of his owne valour, and derided their weakneſſe, eſpecially becauſe (as hee ſaid) they died crying, making ſowre faces, more like children than men. This villaine tooke a dagger from about his necke, (which hee had gotten of Maſter *Weſtons* people) and preſented it to the *Sachim*, and after made a long ſpeech in an audacious manner, framing it in ſuch ſort, as the Captaine (though he be the beſt Linguiſt amongſt vs) could not gather any thing from it. The end of it was afterward diſcouered to be as followeth: The *Maſſachenſeucks* had formerly concluded to ruinate Maſter *Weſtons* Colonie, and thought themſelues, being about thirty or forty men ſtrong, enough to execute the ſame: yet they durſt not attempt it, till ſuch time as they had gathered more ſtrength to themſelues to make their party good againſt vs at *Plimoth*, concluding, that if we remained, (though they had no other Arguments to vſe againſt vs) yet we would neuer leaue the death of our Countrymen vnreuenged, and therefore their ſafety could not be without the ouerthrow of both Plantations. To this end they had formerly ſollicited this *Sachim*, as alſo the other called *Ianough* at *Mattachieſt*, and many others to aſſiſt them, and now againe came to proſecute the ſame; and ſince there was ſo faire an opportunitie offered by the Captaines preſence, they thought beſt to make ſure him and his company. After this his meſſage was deliuered, his entertainment much exceeded the Captaines, inſomuch as he ſcorned at their behauiour, and told them of it: after which they would haue perſwaded him, be-

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cause the weather was cold, to haue sent to the Boat for the rest of his company, but he would not, desiring according to promise, that the corne might be caried downe, and hee would content the women for their labour, which they did. At the same time there was a lusty *Indian* of *Paomet* or *Cape Cod* then present, who had euer demeaned himselfe well towards vs, being in his generall cariage, very affable, courteous, and louing, especially towards the Captaine. This Sauage was now entred into confederacie with the rest, yet to auoid suspition, made many signes of his continued affections, and would needs bestow a kettle of some six or seuen gallons on him, and would not accept of any thing in lieu thereof, saying, he was rich, and could afford to bestow such fauours on his friends whom he loued: also he would freely helpe to carry some of the corne, affirming he had neuer done the like in his life before, and the wind being bad would needs lodge with him at their Randeuow, hauing indeed vndertaken to kill him before they parted, which done they intended to fall vpon the rest. The night proued exceeding cold, insomuch as the Captaine could not take any rest, but either walked or turned himselfe to and fro at the fire: This the other obserued, and asked wherefore hee did not sleepe as at other times, who answered he knew not well, but had no desire at all to rest. So that hee then mist his opportunity. The wind seruing on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other *Indian*, who vsed many arguments to perswade them to goe to *Paomet*, where himselfe had much corne, and many other, the most whereof he would procure for vs, seeming to sorrow for our wants. Once the Captaine put forth with him, and was forced backe by contrary wind; which wind seruing for the *Massachuset*, was fitted to goe thither. But on a sudden it altered againe.

During the time that the Captaine was at *Manomet*, newes came to *Plimoth*, that *Massasowat* was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driuen so

high on the shore by stresse of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides encreased, shee could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any (especially of note) are dangerously sicke, for all that professe friendship to them, to visit them in their extremitie, either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them, therefore it was thought meet (being a good and warrantable action) that as wee had euer professed friendship, so wee should now maintaine the same, by obseruing this their laudable custome: and the rather, because wee desired to haue some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when wee should haue so fit an opportunitie. To that end my selfe having formerly beene there, and vnderstanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the Gouernour againe laid this seruice vpon my selfe, and fitted mee with some cordials to administer to him, hauing one Master *Iohn Hamden* a Gentleman of *London* (who then wintered with vs, and desired much to see the Countrey) for my Consort, and *Hobbamock* for our guide. So wee set forward, and lodged the first night at *Namasket*, where wee had friendly entertainment. The next day about one of the clocke, we came to a ferrie in *Conbatants* Countrey, where vpon discharge of my peece, diuers Indians came to vs from a house not farre off. There they told vs, that *Massassowat* was dead, and that day buried, and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, hauing houe off their ship already. This newes strucke vs blancke: but especially *Hobbamock*, who desired we might returne with all speed. I told him I would first thinke of it, considering now that hee being dead, *Conbatant* was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not aboue three miles from *Mattapuyst* his dwelling place, although hee were but a hollow-hearted friend towards vs, I thought no time so fit as this, to enter into more friendly termes with him, and the rest of the *Sachims* thereabout, hoping (through the blessing of God) it would be a meanes in that vnsetled state, to settle their affections towards vs, and though it were

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somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personall safetie, because my selfe and *Hobbamock* had beene imployed vpon a seruice against him, which he might now fitly reuenge, yet esteeming it the best meanes, leauing the euent to God in his mercie, I resolued to put it in practise, if Master *Hamden* and *Hobbamock* durst attempt it with mee, whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the generall good. So we went towards *Mattapuyst*. In the way, *Hobbamock* manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches, *Neen womasu Sagimus, neen womasu Sagimus*, &c. My louing *Sachim*, my louing *Sachim*. Many haue I knowne, but neuer any like thee: And turning him to me said; Whilest I liued, I should neuer see his like amongst the *Indians*, saying, he was no lyer, he was not bloudy and cruell like other *Indians*; In anger and passion he was soone reclaimed, easie to be reconciled towards such as had offended him, ruled by reason in such measure, as he would not scorne the aduice of meane men, and that he gouerned his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly louing where he loued; yea he feared we had not a faithfull friend left among the *Indians*, shewing how he oft-times restrained their malice, &c. continuing a long speech with such signes of lamentation and vnfeigned sorrow, as it would haue made the hardest heart relent. At length we came to *Mattapuyst*, and went to the *Sachims Comaco* (for so they call the *Sachims* place, though they call an ordinarie house *Witto*) but *Conbatant* the *Sachim* was not at home, but at *Puckanokick*, which was some fiue or six miles off; the *Squa-sachim* (for so they call the *Sachims* wife) gaue vs friendly entertainment. Here wee inquired againe concerning *Wahsasowat*, they thought him dead, but knew no certainty; whereupon I hired one to goe with all expedition to *Puckanokick*, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withall to acquaint *Conbatant* with our there being. About halfe an houre before Sunne-setting, the messenger returned, and told vs that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope

we should finde him living. Vpon this we were much reuiued, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clocke that afternoone the Dutchmen departed, so that in that respect our iourney was fruitlesse. When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they vsed their best diligence to make way for vs. There were they in the middest of their charmes for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered vs, that were well, and therefore vnlike to ease him that was sicke. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his armes, legs, and thighes, to keepe heat in him; when they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends the *English* were come to see him; (hauing vnderstanding left, but his sight was wholly gone) he asked who was come, they told him *Winsnow* (for they cannot pronounce the letter l, but ordinarily n in the place thereof) hee desired to speake with me; when I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I tooke; then he said twice, though very inwardly, *keen Winsnow*, which is to say, Art thou *Winslow*? I answered, *ahhe*. that is, yes; then hee doubled these words, *Matta neen wonckanet namen Winsnow*; that is to say, *O Winslow I shall neuer see thee againe*. Then I called *Hobbamock*, and desired him to tell *Massassowat*, that the Gouernour hearing of his sicknesse was sorry for the same, and though by reason of many businesses he could not come himselfe, yet he sent me with such things for him as he thought most likely to doe him good in this his extremitie, and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently giue him; which he desired, and hauing a confection of many comfortable conserues, &c. on the point of my knife, I gaue him some, which I could scarce get thorow his teeth; when it was dissolued in his mouth, he swallowed the iuice of it, whereat those that were about him much reioyced, saying, he had not swallowed any thing in two daies before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and

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his tongue ſwelled in ſuch manner, as it was not poſſible for him to eat ſuch meat as they had, his paſſage being ſtopt vp: then I waſhed his mouth, and ſcraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the ſame. After which, I gaue him more of the confection, which he ſwallowed with more readineſſe; then he deſiring to drinke, I diſſolued ſome of it in water, and gaue him thereof: within halfe an houre this wrought a great alteration in him in the eyes of all that beheld him; preſently after his ſight began to come to him, which gaue him and vs good encouragement. In the meane time I inquired how hee ſlept, and when he went to the ſtoole? They ſaid he ſlept not in two daies before, and had not had a ſtoole in fiue; then I gaue him more, and told him of a miſhap we had by the way in breaking a bottle of drinke, which the Gouernour alſo ſent him, ſaying, if he would ſend any of his men to *Patuxet*, I would ſend for more of the ſame, alſo for chickens to make him broth, and for other things which I knew were good for him, and would ſtay the returne of the meſſenger if he deſired. This hee tooke marueilous kindly, and appointed ſome who were ready to goe by two of the clocke in the morning, againſt which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good ſucceſſe, the ſtate of his body, &c. deſiring to ſend me ſuch things as I ſent for, and ſuch phyſicke as the Surgion durſt adminiſter to him. He requeſted me that the day following, I would take my Peece, and kill him ſome Fowle, and make him ſome Engliſh pottage, ſuch as he had eaten at *Plimoth*, which I promiſed: after his ſtomacke comming to him, I muſt needs make him ſome without Fowle, before I went abroad, which ſomewhat troubled me, being vnaccuſtomed and vnacquainted in ſuch buſineſſes, eſpecially hauing nothing to make it comfortable, my Conſort being as ignorant as my ſelfe; but being wee muſt doe ſomewhat, I cauſed a woman to bruiſe ſome corne, and take the flower from it, and ſet ouer the grut or broken corne in a pipkin (for they haue earthen pots of all ſizes.)

When the day broke, we went out (it being now March) to ſeeke herbes, but could not finde any but ſtrawberry leaues, of which I gathered a handfull and put into the ſame, and becauſe I had nothing to reliſh it, I went forth againe, and pulled vp a Saxafras root, and ſliced a peece thereof, and boyled it till it had a good reliſh, and then tooke it out againe. The broth being boyled, I ſtrained it thorow my handkerchiffe, and gaue him at leaſt a pinte, which he dranke, and liked it very well. After this his ſight mended more and more, alſo he had three moderate ſtooles, and tooke ſome reſt. Inſomuch as wee with admiration bleſſed God for giuing his bleſſing to ſuch raw and ignorant meanes, making no doubt of his recouery, himſelfe and all of them acknowledging vs the inſtruments of his preſeruation. That morning he cauſed me to ſpend in going from one to another amongſt thoſe that were ſicke in the Towne, requeſting me to waſh their mouthes alſo, and giue to each of them ſome of the ſame I gaue him, ſaying, they were good folke. This paines I tooke with willingneſſe, though it were much offenſiue to me, not being accuſtomed with ſuch poyſonous fauours. After dinner he deſired me to get him a Gooſe or Duck, and make him ſome pottage therewith, with as much ſpeed as I could: ſo I tooke a man with me, and made a ſhot at a couple of Ducks, ſome ſix ſcore paces off, and killed one, at which he wondered: ſo we returned forthwith, and dreſſed it, making more broth therewith, which he much deſired; neuer did I ſee a man ſo low brought, recouer in that meaſure in ſo ſhort a time. The Fowle being extraordinary fat, I told *Hobbamock* I muſt take off the top thereof, ſaying it would make him very ſicke againe if he did eat it; this hee acquainted *Maſſaſſowat* therewith, who would not be perſwaded to it, though I preſſed it very much, ſhewing the ſtrength thereof, and the weakneſſe of his ſtomacke, which could not poſſibly beare it. Notwithſtanding he made a groſſe meale of it, and ate as much as would well haue ſatisfied a man in health. About

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an houre after he began to be very ſicke, and ſtraining very much, caſt vp the broth againe, and in ouer-ſtraining himſelfe, began to bleed at the noſe, and ſo continued the ſpace of foure houres; then they all wiſhed he had beene ruled, concluding now he would die, which we much feared alſo. They asked me what I thought of him; I anſwered, his caſe was deſperate, yet it might be it would ſaue his life: for if it ceaſed in time, he would forthwith ſleepe and take reſt, which was the principall thing he wanted. Not long after his bloud ſtaied, and he ſlept at leaſt ſix or eight houres; when he awaked I waſhed his face, and bathed and ſuppled his beard and noſe with a linnen cloth: but on a ſudden he chopt his noſe in the water, and drew vp ſome therein, and ſent it forth againe with ſuch violence, as he began to bleed afreſh, then they thought there was no hope, but we perceiued it was but the tenderneſſe of his noſtrill, and therefore told them I thought it would ſtay preſently, as indeed it did.

The meſſengers were now returned, but finding his ſtomacke come to him, he would not haue the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durſt wee giue him any phyſicke which was then ſent, becauſe his body was ſo much altered ſince our inſtructions, neither ſaw we any need, not doubting now of his recouery, if he were carefull. Many whileſt we were there came to ſee him, ſome by their report from a place not leſſe than an hundred miles. To all that came one of his chiefe men related the manner of his ſickneſſe, how neere hee was ſpent, how amongſt others his friends the *Engliſh* came to ſee him, and how ſuddenly they recouered him to this ſtrength they ſaw, he being now able to ſit vpright of himſelfe.

The day before our comming, another *Sachim* being there, told him, that now he might ſee how hollow-hearted the *Engliſh* were, ſaying if we had beene ſuch friends in deed, as we were in ſhew, we would haue viſited him in this his ſickneſſe, vſing many arguments to withdraw his affections, and to perſwade him to giue way to ſome things againſt vs, which were motioned to him not long before: but vpon this

this his recouery, he brake forth into these speeches; Now I see the *English* are my friends and loue me, and whilest I liue I will neuer forget this kindnesse they haue shewed mee. Whilest we were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers. Diuers other things were worthy the noting, but I feare I haue beene too tedious.

At our cõming away, he called *Hobbamock* to him, & priuately (none hearing saue two or three other of his *Pneeses*, who are of his Councell) reuealed the plot of the *Massachusetts* before spoken of, against Master *Westons* Colony, and so against vs, saying that the people of *Nauset*, *Paomet*, *Succonet Mattachiest*, *Manomet Agowaywam*, and the Ile of *Capawack*, were ioyned with them; himselfe also in his sickneſse was earnestly sollicited, but he would neither ioyne therein, nor giue way to any of his. Therefore as we respected the liues of our Countrymen, and our owne after-safety, he aduised vs to kill the men of *Massachuset*, who were the authors of this intended mischiefe. And whereas wee were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first begun; if said he vpon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their Countrymen at *Wichuguscusset* are killed, they being not able to defend themselues, that then it will be too late to recouer their liues, nay through the multitude of aduersaries they shall with great difficulty preserue their owne, and therefore he counselled without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would cease. With this he charged him thorowly to acquaint me by the way, that I might informe the Gouernour thereof at my first comming home. Being fitted for our returne, we tooke our leaue of him, who returned many thanks to our Gouernour, and also to our selues for our labour and loue: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

That night thorow the earnest request of *Cõbatant*, who til now remained at *Sawams* or *Purkamkick*, we lodged with him at *Mattapuyst*. By the way I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet ful of merry iests & squibs, & neuer better pleased than when

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the like are returned againe vpon him. Amongst other things he asked me, if in case he were thus dangerously sicke, as *Massasowat* had beene, and should send word thereof to *Patuxet* for *Market*, that is, Physicke, whether then Mr Governor would send it? & if he would, whether I would come therewith to him? To both which I answered yea, whereat he gaue me many ioyfull thankes. After that, being at his house he demanded further, how we durst being but two come so farre into the Country? I answered, where was true loue there was no feare, and my heart was so vpright towards them that for mine owne part I was fearelesse to come amongst them. But said he, if your loue be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how commeth it to passe, that when wee come to *Patuxet*, you stand vpon your guard, with the mouths of your Peeces presented towards vs? Whereunto I answered, it was the most honourable and respective entertainement we could giue them; it being an order amongst vs to receiue our best respected friends: and as it was vsed on the Land, so the ships obserued it also at Sea, which *Hobbamock* knew, and had seene obserued. But shaking the head he answered, that he liked not such salutations.

Further, obseruing vs to craue a blessing on our meate before we did eate, and after to giue thankes for the same, he asked vs what was the meaning of that ordinary custome? Hereupon I tooke occasion to tell them of Gods workes of Creation, and our preseruation, of his Lawes and Ordinances, especially of the ten Commandements, all which they hearkened vnto with great attention, and liked well of: onely the seventh Commandement they excepted against, thinking there were many vnlawfull things in it, that a man should be tyed to one woman, about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them that whatsoeuer good things wee had, wee received from God, as the Author and giuer thereof, and therefore craued his blessing vpon that we had, and were about to eate, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies, and hauing eaten sufficient,

ficient, being satisfied therewith, we againe returned thankes to him and our God for that our refreshing, &c. This all of the Inhabitants did very well, and said, they beleeved almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God, they called *Kiwtan*. Much profitable conference was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no lesse delightfull to them, then comfortable to vs. Here we remained onely that night, but neither had better entertainement amongst any of them.

The day following, in our iourney, *Hobbamock* told me of the priuate conference he had with *Massassowat*, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith, (as I shewed before) which having done, he vsed many argvments himselfe to moue vs thereunto. That night we lodged at *Namasket*, and the day following about the mid-way betweene in and home, wee met two *Indians*, who told vs that Captaine *Standish* was that day gone to the *Massachusets*: but contrary windes againe driue him backe, so that we found him at home, where the *Indian* of *Pawsus* still was, being very importunate that the Captaine should take the first opportunitie of a faire wind to goe with him, but their secret and villanous purposes being through Gods mercy now made known vnto the Gouernour, caused Captaine *Standish* to send him away without any delay or manifestation of anger, that we might the better effect and bring to passe that which should be thought most necessary.

Before this iourney we heard many complaints both by the *Indians* and some others of late desert amongst Master *Weston*s Colony, how exceedingly their Company abased themselues by vndirect meanes, to get victualls from the *Indians*, who dwelt not farre from them, fetching them wood and water, &c. and all for a meales meate, whereas in the meane time, they might with diligence haue gotten enough to haue serued them three or foure times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the *Indians* there-

for which they had beene publiquely flocked and whipt, and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February, at which time they had spent all their bread and corne, not leauing any for seed, neither would the *Indians* lend or sell them any more vpon any termes.

Hereupon they had thoughts to take it by violence, and to that ſpiked vp euery entrance into their Towne being well impaled, I saue one, with a full reſolution to proceed. But ſome more honeſtly minded, adviſed *Iohn Sanders* their Over-ſeer firſt to write to *Plimoth*, and if the Gouernour adviſed him thereunto, he might the better doe it. This courſe was well liked, and an *Indian* was ſent with all ſpeede with a letter to our Gouernour, the contents whereof were to this effect: That being in great want and their people daily falling downe, he intended to goe to *Manamiggen*, where was a Plantation of Sir *Ferd: Gorges*, to buy bread from the Ships that came thither a fiſhing, with the firſt opportunitie of wind; but knew not how the Colony would be preſerued all his reſidence; he had vſed all meanes both to buy and borrow of *Paſaton* whom hee knew to be ſtored, and he thought maliciouſly with-held it, and therefore was reſolued to take it by violence, and onely waited the returne of the Meſſenger, which he deſired ſhould be haſtned, craving his advice therein, promiſing alſo to make reſtitution afterward. The Gouernour vpon the receipt hereof asked the Meſſenger what ſtore of corne they had, as if he had intended to buy of them; who anſwered very little more then that they reſerued for ſeed, having already ſpared all they could. Forth-with the Gouernour and his Aſſiſtant ſent for many of vs to adviſe with them herein, who after ſerious conſideration, no way approuing of this intended courſe, the Gouernour anſwered his Letter, and cauſed many of vs to ſet our handes thereto, the contents whereof were to this purpoſe; Wee altogether diſliked their intendment, as being againſt the law of God and Nature, ſhewing how it would croſſe the worthy ends and proceedings of the Kings Maieſtie, and

his honourable Councell for this place, both in respect of the peaceable enlarging of his Maiesties Dominions, and also of the propagation of the knowledge and Law of God, and the glad tydings of saluation, which we and they were bound to seeke, and were not to vse such meanes as would breed a distast in the Salvages against our persons and professions, assuring them their Master would incurre much blame hereby, neither could they answere the same; For our owne parts our case was almost the same with theirs, having but a small quantine of Corne left, and were enforced to liue on ground nuts, clams, mussels, and such other things as naturally the Country afforded, and which did and would maintaine strength, and were easie to be gotten, all which things they had in great abundance, yea, Oysters also which we wanted, and therefore necessitie could not be said to constraine them thereunto. Moreouer, that they should consider, if they proceeded therein, all they could to get would maintaine them but a small time, and then they must perforce seeke their foode abroad, which hauing made the *Indians* their enemies, would be very difficult for them, and therefore much better to beginne a little the sooner, and so continue their peace, vpon which course they might with good conscience deare and expect the blessing of God, whereas on the contrary they could not.

Also that they should consider their owne weakenesse, being most swelled, and diseased in their bodies, and therefore the more vnlikely to make their parte good against them, and that they should not expect helpe from vs in that or any the like vnlawfull actions. Lastly, that howsoeuer some of them might escape, yet the principall Agents should expect no better then the Gallowse, whensoeuer any speciall Officer should be sent ouer by his Maiestie, or his Councell for *New England*, which wee expected, and who would vndoubtedly call them to account for the same. These were the contents of our Answere, which was directed to their whole Colony. Another particular

Letter our Governour sent to *Iohn Sanders*, shewing how dangerous it would be for him aboue all others, being he was their leader and commander; and therefore in friendly manner advised him to desist.

With these Letters we dispatched the Messenger; Vpon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, resoluing to shift as they could, till the returne of *Iohn Sanders* from *Munbiggen*, who first comming to *Plimoth*, notwithstanding our owne necessities, the Gouernour spared him some Corne to carry them to *Munbiggen*. But not hauing sufficient for the Ships store, he tooke a Shallop and leauing others with instructions to over-see things till his returne, set forward about the end of February, so that he knew not of this conspiracie of the *Indians* before his going; neither was it knowne to any of vs till our returne from *Sawaams* or *Puckanakick*: At which time also another *Sachim* called *Wassapinewat*, brother to *Obtakiest* the *Sachim* of the *Massachusets*, who had formerly smarted for partaking with *Conbatant*, and fearing the like againe, to purge himselfe reuealed the same thing.

The three and twentith of March being now come, which is a yeerely Court-day, the Governour having a double testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being to vndertake warre without the consent of the bodie of the Company; made known the same in publique Court, offering it to the consideration of the Companie, it being high time to come to resolution, how sudden soeuer it seemed to them, fearing it would bee put in execution before we could giue any intelligence thereof. This businesse was no lesse troublesome then grieuous, and the more, because it is so ordinarie in these times for men to measure things by the events thereof: but especially for that wee knew no meanes to deliuer our Countrimen and preserue our selues, then by returning their malicious and cruell purposes vpon their owne heads, and causing them to fall into the same pitte

they had digged for others, though it much grieued vs to shed the blood of those whose good wee euer intended and aymed at, as a principall in all our proceedings. But in the end we came to this publique conclusion, that because it was a matter of such weight as euery man was not of sufficiency to iudge, nor fitnesse to know because of many other *Indians* which dayly as occasion serueth conuerse with vs; therefore the Governeur, his Assistant and the Captaine should take such to theselues as they thought most meete, and conclude thereof; which done we came to this conclusion, That Captaine *Standish* should take so many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the *Indians* in the *Massachuset-bay*; and because (as all men know that haue had to doe in that kinde) it is impossible to deale with them vpon open defiance, but to take them in such trappes as they lay for others; therefore hee should pretend trade as at other times: but first goe to the *English* and acquaint them with the plot, and the end of his owne comming, that comparing it with their carriages towards them hee might the better iudge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to reuenge the same: but should forbeare if it were possible till such time as hee could make sure *Wattawamat*, that bloody and bold villaine before spoken of, whose heade hee had order to bring with him, that hee might be a warning and terrour to all of that disposition. Vpon this Captaine *Standish* made choyce of eight men, and would not take more because hee would prevent iealousie, knowing their guilty consciences would soone be prouoked thereunto: but on the next day before hee could goe, came one of Mr. *Westons* Company by land vnto vs, with his packe at his backe, who made a pitifull narration of their lamentable and weake estate, and of the *Indians* carriages, whose boldnesse increased abundantly, insomuch as the victuals they got they would take it out of their potres and eate before their faces, yea if in any thing they gaine-sayd them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts; that to giue them

them content, since *Iohn Sanders* went to *Munhigen*, they had hanged one of them that stole their corne, and yet they regarded it not; that another of their Company was turned Saluage, that their people had most forsaken the towne, and made their randevous where they got their victuals, because they would not take paines to bring it home; that they had sold their cloathes for corne, and were ready to starue both with cold and hunger also, because they could not indure to get victuals by reason of their nakednesse; and that they were dispersed into three Companies scarce hauing any powder and shot left. What would be the event of these things (he said) he much feared; and therefore not daring to stay any longer among them, though hee knew not the way yet aduentured to come to vs, partly to make knowne their weake and dangerous estate, as hee conceiued, and partly to desire hee might there remaine till things were better settled at the other plantation. As this relation was grieuous to vs, so it gaue vs good encouragement to proceede in our intendments, for which Captaine *Standish* was now fitted, and the winde comming faire, the next day set forth for the *Massachusets*.

The *Indians* at the *Massachusets* missed this man, and suspecting his comming, to vs as we conceiue, sent one after him and gaue out there that hee would never come to *Patuxet*, but that some Wolues or Beares would eate him: but we know both by our owne experience, and the report of others, that though they finde a man sleeping, yet so soone as there is life discerned they feare and shun him. This *Indian* missed him but very little, and missing him passed by the towne and went to *Manomet*, whom wee hoped to take at his return, as afterward we did. Now was our Fort made fit for seruice and some Ordnance mounted; and though it may seeme long worke it being ten moneths since it begun, yet wee must note, that whereso great a work is begun with such small meanes, a little time cannot bring to perfection: beside those workes which

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tend to the preſervation of man, the enemie of mankinde will hinder what in him lieth, ſometimes blinding the iudgement and cauſing reaſonable men to reaſon againſt their owne ſafety, as amongſt vs diuerſe ſeeing the worke proue tedious, would haue diſſwaded from proceeding, flattering themſelues with peace and ſecurity, and accounting it rather a worke of ſuperfluity and vaine-glory, then ſimple neceſſity. But God (whoſe providence hath waked and as I may ſay, watched for vs whilſt wee ſlept) having determined to preſerue vs from theſe intended treacheries, vndoubtedly ordained this as a ſpeciall meanes to aduantage vs and diſcourage our aduerſaries, and therefore ſo ſtirred vp the hearts of the Gouernours and other forward inſtruments, as the work was ruſt made ſerviceable againſt this needfull and dangerous time,, though wee ignorant of the ſame. But that I may proceed, the *Indian* laſt mentioned in his returne from *Monomet*, came through the towne pretending full friendſhip and in loue to ſee vs, but as formerly others, ſo his end was to ſee whether wee continued ſtill in health and ſtrength, or fell into weakeneſſe like their neighbours, which they hoped and looked for (though God in mercy provided better for vs) and hee knew would be glad tydings to his Countrey men. But here the Gouernour ſtayd him, and ſending for him to the Fort, there gaue the Guard charge of him as their priſoner, where hee told him hee muſt be contented to remaine till the returne of Captaine *Standiſh* from the *Maſſachuſets*, ſo hee was locked in a chaine to a ſtaple in the Court of guard, and there kept. Thus was our Fort hanſelled, this being the firſt day as I take it, that euer any watch was there kept.

The Captaine being now come to the *Maſſachuſets*, went firſt to the ſhip, but found neither man, or ſo much as a dogge therein: vpon the diſcharge of a Muſket the Maſter and ſome others of the plantation ſhewed themſelues, who were on the ſhore gathering ground-nuts, and getting other foode. After ſalutation Captaine *Standiſh*

asked

asked them how they durst so leaue the ship and liue in such security, who answered like men senselesse of their owne misery, they feared not the *Indians*, but liued and suffered them to lodge with them, not having sword, or gunne, or needing the same. To which the Captaine answered, if there were no cause hee was the gladder, but vpon further inquirie, vnderstanding that those in whom *John Sanders* had receiued most special confidence and left in his stead to governe the rest were at the Plantation, thither hee went, and to be briefe, made knowne the *Indians* purpose and the end of his owne comming, as also (which formerly I omitted) that if afterward they durst not there stay, it was the intendment of the Gouernours and people of *Plimouth* there to receiue them till they could be better prouided: but if they conceiued of any other course that might bee more likely for their good, that himselfe should further them therein to the vttermost of his power. These men comparing other circumstances with that they now heard, answered, they could expect no better, and it was Gods mercy that they were not killed before his comming, desiring therefore that hee would neglect no opportunitie to procede. Hereupon hee aduised them to secrecy, yet withall to send speciall command to one third of their Company that were farthest off to come home, and there enioyne them on paine of death to keepe the towne, himselfe allowing them a pint of *Indian* corne to a man for a day (though that store hee had was spared out of our seed.) The weather prouing very wet and stormy, it was the longer before hee could doe any thing.

In the meane time an *Indian* came to him and brought some furres, but rather to gather what hee could from the Captaines, then comming then for trade, and though the Captaine carryed things as smoothly as possibly he could, yet at his returne hee reported hee saw by his eyes that hee was angry in his heart, and therefore beganne to suspect themselues discouered. This caused one *Pecksuot* who was a *Pinese*, being a man of a notable spirit to come to

Hobbamock who was then with them, and told him hee vnderstood that the Captaine was come to kill himselfe and the rest of the Salvages there, tell him sayd hee wee know it, & feare him not, neither will wee shunne him; but let him beginne when hee dare, he shall not take vs vnawares: many times after diverse of them severally, or two together, came to the Plantation to him, where they would whet and sharpen the points of their knives before his face, and vse many other insulting gestures and speeches. Amongst the rest, *Wituwamat* bragged of the excellency of his knife, on the end of the handle whereof was pictured a womans face, but sayd hee, I have another at home wherewith I have killed both *French* and *English*, and that hath a mans face on it, and by and by the one of us two must marry it. Further hee sayd of this knife her chief had, *Hingmin namen, kinnaw machen, mayta cutta*; that is to say, By and by I should see, and by and by it should cut, but not speake. Also *Pecksuot* being a man of greater stature then the Captaine, told him though hee were a great Captaine, yet hee was but a little man: and sayd he, though I be no Sachim, yet I am a man of great strength and courage. These things the Captaine observed, yet bare with patience for the present. On the next day, seeing hee could not get many of them together at once, and this *Peksuot* and *Wituwamat* both together, with another man, and a youth of some eighteene yeeres of age, which was brother to *Wituwamat*, and villainous like vnto his steps, daily putting many tricks vpon the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his owne Company in a roome with them, gave the word to his men, and the doore being fast shut began himselfe with *Peksuot*, and snatching his owne knife from his neck (though with much struggling) killed him therewith, the point whereof hee had made as sharpe as a needle, and ground the backe also to an edge: *Wituwamat* and the other man, hee soone killed, and tooke the youth, whom the Captaine fed to be hanged: but it is incredible how many

wounds these two Pudsets received before they dyed, not making any fearfull noyse, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. *Hobbamock* stood by all this time as a spectator and meddled not, observing how our men demeaned themselues in this action; all being here ended, smiling hee brake forth into these speeches to the Captain, Yesher-day *Pecksuot* bragging of his owne strength and stature, sayd, though you were a great Captaine yet you were but a little man, but to day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. But to proceed, there being foure women at the same time, Captaine *Standish* left them in the custody of Mr. *Westons* people at the towne, and sent word to another Company that had intelligence of things to kill those *Indian* men that were amongst them, these killed two more: himselfe also with some of his owne men went to another place, where they killed another, and through the negligence of the man an *Indian* escaped, who discouered and crossed their proceedings.

Not long before this execution, three of Mr. *Westons* men, which more regarded their bellies then any command or Commander, hauing formerly fared well with the *Indians* for making them Canoes, were againe to the Southward to offer their service, and had entertainment. The first night they came thither within night late came a Messenger with all speede, and deliuered a sad and short message. Whereupon all the men gathered together, put on their coates and breeches, trussed up all their bundles, and tooke their bowes and arrowes and went forth, telling them they went a hunting, and that at their returne they should haue venison enough. Being now gone, one being more ancient and wiser then the rest, calling some things to minde, especially the Captaines presence, and their charge that vpon paine of death none should goe a Musketshot from the house, vpon examination, and comparing this sudden departure of theirs therewith, began to dislike and wish himselfe at home againe, which did further appeare by diuers other doubts. Hereupon hee moued his fellowes to

returne but could not perswade them: so there being none but women left and the other that was turned salvage, about midnight came away, forsaking the pathes least hee should be pursued, and by this meanes saved his life.

Captaine *Standish* tooke the one halfe of his men, and one or two of Mr. *Weston*, and *Hobbamocke*, still seeking to make spoyle of them and theirs: at length they espyed a fire of *Indians* which made towards them amaine, and there being a small aduantage in the ground by reason of a hill neere them both Companies strout for it, Captaine *Standish* got it, whereupon they retreated and tooke each man his tree, leuying fire their arrowes amayne, especially at himselfe and *Hobbamocke*, whereupon *Hobbamocke* cast off his coate, and being a knowne Iuncke, (their's being now killed) chased them so fast about, people were not able to hold way with him, insomuch as our men could haue but one certaine marke and then but the ankle and halfe face of a notable villaine as hee drew at Captaine *Standish*, who together with a rocket both discharged at once at him, and brake his armes, whereupon they fled into a swampe, when they were in the thicket they parlyed, but to small purpose, getting nothing but foole language. So our Captaine dared the Sachim to come out and fight like a man, shewing how base and woman like hee was in tonguing it as hee did: but hee refused and fled. So the captaine returned to the Plantation, where hee cheared the women and would not take their belwer coates from them, nor suffer the least discourtesie to bee offered them. Now were Mr. *Westons* people resolued to leaue their Plantation and goe for *New-found-land*, hoping to get passage and returne with the fishing ships. But the Captaine told them, that for his owne part hee durst not leaue his ship there, when they were by, since they were otherwayes minded, according to his orders from the Gouernours and people of *Plimouth* hee would haue them with some competent for their pro-

uision by the way, which hee did, scarce leaving himselfe more then brought them home. Some of them disliked the choyce of the body to goe to *Munhiggen*, and therfore desiring to goe with him to *Plimouth*, he tooke them into the shallop: and seeing them set sayle and cleere of the *Massachuset bay*, he tooke leaue and returned to *Plimouth*, whither hee came in safety (blessed be God) and brought the head of *Wituwamat* with him.

Amongst the rest there was an *Indian* youth that was ever of a courteous and louing disposition towards vs, hee notwithstanding the death of his Countrimen came to the Captaine without feare, saying his good conscience and loue towardes vs imboldened him so to doe. This youth confessed that the *Indians* intended to kill Mr. *Westons* people, and not to delay any longer then till they had two more Canoes or Boats, which Mr. *Westons* men would haue finished by this time (hauing made them three already) had not the Captaine preuented them, and the end of stay for those Boats, was to take their Ship therewith.

Now was the Captaine returned and receiued with joy, the head being brought to the fort and there set vp, the Governours and Captaines with divers others went vp the same further, to examine the prisoner, who looked pittifully on the head, being asked whether he knew it, he answered, yea: Then he confessed the plot, and that all the people provoked *Obtakiest* their *Sachim* thereunto, being drawne to it by their importunitie: Fiue there were (he sayd) that prosecuted it with more eagernes then the rest, the two principall were killed, being *Pecksuot* and *Wituwamat*, whose head was there, the other three were *Powahes*, being yet liuing, and knowne vnto vs, though one of them was wounded, as aforesaid. For himselfe he would not acknowledge that he had any hand therein, begging earnestly for his life, saying, he was not a *Massachuset* man, but as a stranger liued with them. *Hobbamock* also gaue a good report of him, and beso[illegible]ght for him, but was bribed so

to doe: Neuertheleſſe, that we might ſhew mercy as well as extremitie, the Gouernour releaſed him, and the rather becauſe we deſired he might carry a meſſage to *Obtakieſt* his Maſter. No ſooner were the yrons from his legs, but he would haue beene gone, but the Gouernour bid him ſtay and feare not, for he ſhould receiue no hurt, and by *Hobbamock* commanded him to deliuer this meſſage to his Maſter; That for our parts, it neuer entred into our hearts to take ſuch a courſe with them, till their owne trecherie enforced vs thereunto, and therefore might thanke themſelues for their owne ouer-throw, yet ſince he had begun, if againe by any the like courſes he did prouoke him, his Countrey ſhould not hold him, for he would neuer ſuffer him or his to reſt in peace, till he had vtterly conſumed them, and therefore ſhould take this as a warning. Further, that he ſhould ſend to *Parkxet* the three Engliſhmen he had and not kill them; alſo that he ſhould not ſpoyle the pale and houſes at *Wichagnſcuſſet*, and that this Meſſenger ſhould either bring the Engliſh, or an anſwere, or both, promiſing his ſafe returne.

This meſſage was deliuered, and the partie would haue returned with anſwere, but was at firſt diſſwaded by them, whom afterward they would but could not perſwade to come to vs. At length (though long) a Woman came and told vs that *Obtakieſt* was ſorry that the Engliſh were killed before he heard from the Gouernour, otherwiſe he would haue ſent them. Alſo ſhee ſaid, he would faine make his peace againe with vs, but none of his men durſt come to treate about it, hauing forſaken his dwelling, and daily remoued from place to place, expecting when wee would take further vengeance on him.

Concerning thoſe other people that intended to joyne with the *Maſſachuſecks* againſt vs, though we neuer went againſt any of them, yet this ſuddaine and vnexpected execution, together with the iuſt iudgement of God vpon their guiltie conſciences, hath ſo terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forſooke their houſes, running

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to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselues, whereof very many are dead, as *Canacum* the *Sachim* of *Mount Hope*, *Aspinet*, the *Sachim* of *Nauset*, and *Iannough*, *Sachim* of *Mattachusets*. This *Sachim* in his life, in the middest of these distractions, said the God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger, and certainly it is strange to heare how many of late haue, and still daily die amongst them, neither is there any likelihood it will easily cease, because through feare they set little or no Corne, which is the staffe of life, and without which they cannot long preserue health and strength. From one of these places a boate was sent with presents to the Gouernour, hoping thereby to worke their peace, but the boate was cast away, and three of the persons drowned, not farre from our plantation, onely one escaped, who durst not come to vs, but returned, so as none of them dare come amongst vs.

I feare I haue beene too tedious both in this and other things, yet when I considered how necessary a thing it is that the truth and grounds of this action, especially should be made knowne, and the seuerall dispositions of that disiolued Colony, whose reports vndoubtedly will be as various, I could not but enlarge my selfe where I thought to be most briefe; neither durst I be too briefe, least I should eclipse and rob God of that honour, glory, and prayse, which belongeth to him for preseruing vs from falling when we were at the pits brim, and yet feared not nor knew not that we were in danger.

The moneth of Aprill being now come, on all hands we beganne to prepare for Corne. And because there was no Corne left before this time, saue that was preserued for seed, being also hopelesse of reliefe by supply, we thought best to leaue off all other works, and prosecute that as most necessary. And because there was no small hope of doing good in that common course of labour that formerly we were in, for that the Gouernour that followed men go their ordinarie labours, *Anno* 1623.

labours, had nothing to giue men for their neceſſities, and therefore could not ſo well exerciſe that command over them therein as formerly they had done, eſpecially conſidering that ſelfe-loue wherewith euery man (in a meaſure more or leſſe) loueth and preferreth his owne good before his neighbours, and alſo the baſe diſpoſition of ſome drones, that as at other times ſo now eſpecially would be moſt burdenous to the reſt; It was therefore thought beſt that euery man ſhould vſe the beſt diligence he could for his owne preſeruation, both in reſpect of the time preſent, and to prepare his owne Corne for the yeare following: and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of publique Officers, Fiſhermen, &c. which could not be freed from their calling without greater inconueniences. This courſe was to continue till harveſt, and then the Gouernours to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themſelues and ſuch others as neceſſitie conſtrayned to exempt from this condition. Onely if occaſion ſerued vpon any ſpeciall ſeruice they might employ ſuch as they thought moſt fit to execute the ſame, during this appointed time, and at the end thereof all men to be employed by them in ſuch ſeruice as they thought moſt neceſſary for the generall good. And becauſe there is great differēce in the ground, that therfore a ſet quantitie ſhould be ſet downe for a perſon, and each man to haue his fall by lot, as being moſt iuſt and equall, and againſt which no man could except.

At a generall meeting of the Company, many courſes were propounded, but this approued and followed, as being the moſt likely for the preſent and future good of the Company; and therefore before this moneth began to prepare our ground againſt ſeed-time. In the middeſt of Aprill we began to ſet, the weather being then ſeaſonable, which much incouraged vs, giuing vs good hopes of after plentie: the ſetting ſeaſon is good till the latter end of May. But it pleaſed God for our further chaſtiſement, to ſend a great drowth, inſomuch, as in ſixe weekes after the

latter

latter seming there scarce fell any rayne, so that the stalke of that was first set began to send forth the eare before it came to halfe growth, and that which was later, not like to yeeld any at all, both blade and stalke hanging the head, and changing the colour in such manner, as wee iudged it vtterly dead: our Beanes also ran not vp according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had beene scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrowne, and we discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning.

To adde also to this sorrowfull estate in which we were, we heard of a supply that was sent vnto vs many moneths since, which hauing two repulses before, was a third time in company of another ship three hundred Leagues at Sea, and now in three moneths time heard no further of her, onely the signes of a wrack were seene on the coast, which could not be iudged to be any other then the same. So that at once God seemed to deprive vs of all future hopes. The most courageous were now discouraged, because God which hitherto had beene our onely Shield and Supporter, now seemed in his anger to arme himselfe against vs; and who can withstand the fiercenesse of his wrath.

These, and the like considerations moued not onely euery good man privately to enter into examination with his owne estate betweene God and his conscience, and so to humiliation before him: but also more solemnly to humble our selues together before the Lord by fasting and prayer. To that end a day was appoynted by publique authoritie, and set a-part from all other imployments, hoping that the same God which had stirred vs vp hereunto, would be moued hereby in mercy to looke downe vpon vs, & grant the request of our dejected soules, if our continuance there might any way stand with his glory and our good. But oh the mercy of our God! Who was as readie to heare as wee to aske: For though in the morning when we assembled together, the heavens were as cleare and the drought as like to continue as euer it was: yet (our exer-

cise continuing some eight or nine houres) before our departure the weather was over-cast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rayne, continuing some foureteene dayes, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say whether our withered Corne, or drouping affections were most quickned or revived. Such was the bountie and goodnes of our God. Of this the *Indians* by meanes of *Hobbamock* tooke notice: who being then in the Towne, and this exercise in the midst of the weeke, said, it was but three dayes since Sunday, and therefore demanded of a boy what was the reason thereof? Which when he knew and saw what effects followed thereupon, he and all of them admired the goodnesse of our God towardes vs, that wrought so great a change in so short a time, shewing the difference betweene their coniuration, and our invocation on the name of God for rayne; theirs being mixed with such stormes and tempests, as sometimes in stead of doing them good, it layeth the Corne flat on the ground, to their preiudice: but ours in so gentle and seasonable a manner, as they neuer obserued the like.

At the same time Captaine *Standish* being formerly imployed by the Governour to buy provisions for the refreshing of the Colony, returned with the same, accompanied with one M^r *David Tomson*, a Scotchman, who also that Spring began a Plantation twentie-fiue leagues northeast from vs, nere *Smiths* Iles, at a place called *Pascataquack*, where he liketh well. Now also heard we of the third repulse that our supply had, of their safe though dangerous returne into *England*, and of their preparation to come to vs. So that hauing these many signes of Gods fauour and acceptation, we thought it would be great ingratitude, if secretly we should smoother vp the same, or content our selues with private thanksgiuing for that which by private prayer could not be obtained. And therefore another solemne day was set a-part and appoynted for that end,

wherein

wherein we returned glory, honour, and prayse, with all thankefulnes to our good God, which deale so graciously with vs, whose name, for this and all other his mercies towardes his Church and chosen ones, by them be blessed and prayfed now and euermore, Amen.

In the latter end of July and the beginning of August, came two Ships with supply vnto vs, who brought all their passengers, except one, in health, who recouered in short time, who also notwithstanding, all our wants and hardship (blessed be God) found not any one sicke person amongst vs at the Plantation. The bigger Ship called the *Hope* was hired, and there againe straighted backe, from whence we set saile the tenth of September. The lesser called the litle *Lamer*, was built for the company at their charge. Shee was now also fitted for Trade and discovery to the South-ward of Cape *Cod*, and almost readie to set saile, whom I pray God to blesse in her good and lawfull proceedings.

Thus haue I made a true and full Narration of the state of our Plantation, and such things as were most remarkable therein since Decemb. 1621. And if I haue omitted any thing, it is either through weakenesse of memory, or because I judged it not materiall: I confesse my stile rude, and vnskilfulnesse in the taske I vndertooke, being vrged thereunto by opportunitie, which I knew to be wanting in others, and but for which I would not haue vndertaken the same; yet as it is rude so it is plaine, and therefore the easier to be vnderstood, wherein others may see that which wee are bound to acknowledge, viz. That if euer any people in these later ages were vpheld by the providence of God after a more speciall manner then others, then were and therefore are the more bound to yelde answerable memory of his goodnesse, with euerlasting thankefulnes. For in these forenamed strayts, such was our state, as in the morning we had often our foode to seeke for the day, and yet performed the duties of our Callings, and all other daily labours, to prouide for after time: and though at some

times in some seasons at noone I haue seene men stagger by reason of faintnesse for want of foode, yet ere night by the good providence and blessing of God, wee haue enioyed such plentie as though the windowes of heauen had beene opened vnto vs. How few, weake, and raw were we at our first beginning, and there seeling, and in the middest of barbarous enemies, yet God wrought our peace for vs. How often haue wee beene at the pits brim, and in danger to be swallowed vp, yea, not knowing, till afterward that we were in perill? and yet God preserved vs: yea, and from how many that we yet know not of, he that knoweth all things can best tell: So that when I seriously consider of things, I cannot but thinke that God hath a purpose to giue that Land as an inheritance to our Nation, and great pitie it were that it should long lie in so desolate a state, considering it agreeth so well with the constitution of our bodies, being both fertile, and so temperate for heate and cold, as in that respect one can scarce distinguish *New-England* from *Old*.

A few things I thought meet to adde hereunto, which I haue obserued amongst the *Indians*, both touching their Religion, and sundry other Customes amongst them. And first, whereas my selfe and others, in former Letters (which came to the Presse against my will and knowledge) wrote, that the *Indians* about vs are a people without any Religion, or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better: For as they conceiue of many diuine powers, so of one whom they call *Kichtan*, to be the principall and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none: He (they say) created the heauens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and wee and all mankinde came; but how they became so farre dispersed that know they not. At first they say, there was no *Sachim*, or *King*, but *Kichtan*, who dwelleth aboue in the Heauens, whither all good men goe when they

The meaning of the word, *Kichtan*, I thinke hath reference to Antiquitie, for *Chise* is an old man, and *Kichchise*, a man that exceedeth in age.

they die, to see their friends, and haue their fill of all things: This his habitation lyeth farre West-ward in the heauens, they say; thither the bad men goe also, and knocke at his doore, but he bids them *Quarchee*, that is to say, Walke abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restles want and penury: Neuer man saw this *Kiehtan*; onely old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea, to charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge vpon them. This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtaine any great matter, meete together, and cry vnto him, and so likewise for plentie, victorie, &c. sing, daunce, feast, giue thankes, and hang vp Garlandes and other things in memorie of the same.

Another power they worship, whom they call *Hobbamock*, and to the Norward of vs *Hobbamoqui*; this as farre as wee can conceiue is the Deuill, him they call vpon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he perswades them he sends the same for some conceiued anger against them, but vpon their calling vpon him can and doth helpe them: But when they are mortall, and not curable in nature, then he perswades them *Kiehtan* is angry and sends them, whom none can cure: in so much, as in that respect onely they somewhat doubt whether hee be simply good, and therefore in sickneste neuer call vpon him.

This *Hobbamock* appeares in sundry formes vnto them, as in the shape of a Man, a Deare, a Fawne, an Eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a Snake. He appeares not to all our Sachims and most iudicious amongst them, though all of them striue to attaine to that hellish height of honour.

Hee appeareth most ordinary and is most conuersant with three sorts of people, one I confesse I neither knowe by name nor office directly. Of these they haue

haue few but esteeme lightly of them, and thinke that no weapon can kill them: another they call by the name of *Powah*, and the third *Pniese*.

The office and duty of the *Powah* is to bee exercised principally in calling vpon the Diuell, and curing diseases of the sicke or wounded. The common people ioyne with him in the exercise of inuocation, but doe but onely assent, or as wee tearme it, say *Amen* to that he sayth, yet sometime breake out into a short musicall note with him. The *Powah* is eager and free in speech, fierce in countenance, and ioyneth many antickе and labourious gestures with the same ouer the party diseased. If the party bee wounded hee will also seeme to sucke the wound, but if they bee curable (as they say) hee toucheth it not, but a Skooke, that is the Snake, or Wobsacuck, that is the Eagle, sitteth on his shoulder and licks the same. This none see but the *Powah*, who tels them hee doth it himselfe. If the party be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape he but come into the house, taking it for an vndoubted signe of recouery.

And as in former ages *Apollo* had his temple at *Delphos*, and *Diana* at *Ephesus*; so haue I heard them call vpon some as if they had their residence in some certaine places, or because they appeared in those formes in the same. In the *Powahs* speech he promiseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beades, knives, and other the best things they haue to the fiend, if hee will come to helpe the party diseased. But whether they performe it I know not. The other practices I haue seene, being necessarily called at some times to be with their sicke, and haue vsed the best arguments I could make them vnderstand against the same. They haue told me I should see the Diuell at those times come to the party, but I assured my selfe and them of the contrary, which is prooued: yea, themselues haue confessed they neuer saw him when any of vs were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard trauell in childe-birth, when the party cannot be deliuered by the ordi-

ordinary meanes, they send for this *Powah*, though ordinarily their travell is not so extreame as in our parts of the world, they being of a more hardy nature; for on the third day after shee is brought to bed, I haue seene the mother with the infant vpon a small occasion in cold weather in a boat vpon the Sea.

Many sacrifices the *Indians* vse, and in some cases kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship at a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to *Kichtan*; saying in their memory hee was much more called vpon. The *Nanohiggansets* exceede in their blinde deuotion, and haue a great spacious house wherein onely some few (that are as wee may reame them Priests) come: thither at certaine knowne times resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they haue to their gods, as kettles, skinnes, hatchets, beads, knives, &c. all which are cast by the Priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering euery man bringeth freely, and the more hee is knowne to bring, hath the better esteeme of all men. This the other *Indians* about vs approue of as good, and wish their *Sachims* would appoint the like: and because the plague hath not raigned at *Nanohiggansets* as at other places about them, they attribute to this custome there vsed.

The *Pnieses* are men of great courage and wisedome, and to these also the Diuell appeareth more familiarly then to others, and as we conceiue maketh couenant with them to preserve them from death, by wounds, with arrowes, knives, hatchets, &c. or at least both themselues and especially the people thinke themselues to be freed from the same. And though against their battels all of them by painting disfigure themselues, yet they are knowne by their courage and boldnes, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men, for they account it death for whomsoeuer stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the *Sachims* coun-

Councell, without whom they will not warre or vndertake any weighty businesse. In warre their *Sachims* for their more safety goe in the midst of them. They are commonly men of the greatest stature & strength, and such as wil endure most hardnesse, and yet are more discreet, courteous, and humane in their carryages then any amongst them, scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much vpon their reputation as any men.

And to the end they may haue store of these, they traine vp the most forward and likeliest boyes from their childehood in great hardnesse, and make them abstaine from dainty meate, observing diuers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age the Diuell may appeare to them, causing to drinke the iuyce of Sentry and other bitter hearbes till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drinke againe, and againe, till at length through extraordinary oppressing of nature it will seeme to bee all blood, and this the boyes will doe with eagernes at the first, and so continue till by reason of faintnesse they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must goe forth into the cold: also they beate their shinnes with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes, stumps, and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the Diuell, that in time he may appeare vnto them.

Their *Sachims* cannot bee all called Kings, but onely some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection, and pay homage vnto them, neither may they warre without their knowledge and approbation, yet to be commanded by the greater as occasion serueth. Of this sort is *Massassowat* our friend, and *Conanacus* of *Nanohiggenset* our supposed enemy.

Euery *Sachim* taketh care for the widow and fatherlesse, also for such as are aged, and any way maymed, if their friends be dead or not able to prouide for them.

A *Sachim* will not take any to wife but such an one as is equall to him in birth, otherwise they say their seede would in time become ignoble, and though they haue

many

many other wiues, yet are they no other then concubines or seruants, and yeeld a kinde of obedience to the principall, who ordereth the family, and them in it. The like their men obserue also, and will adhere to the first during their liues; but put away the other at their pleasure.

This gouernment is, successiue and not by choyce. If the father die before the sonne or daughter be of age, then the childe is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till he be of age, but when that is I know not.

Euery *Sachim* knoweth how farre the bounds and limits of his owne Countrey extendeth, and that is his owne proper inheritance, out of that if any of his men desire land to set their corne, hee giueth them as much as they can vse, and sets them their bounds. In this circuit whosoeuer hunteth, if they kill any venison, bring him his fee, which is the fore parts of the same, if it be killed on the land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof. The great *Sachims* or Kings, know their owne bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest.

All trauellers or strangers, for the most part lodge at the *Sachims*, when they come they tell them how long they will stay, and to what place they goe, during which time they receiue entertainement according to their persons, but want not.

Once a yeere the *Priests* vse to prouoke the people to bestow much corne on the *Sachim*. To that end they appoint a certain time and place neere the *Sachims* dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corne, and make a great stack thereof. There the *Priests* stand ready to giue thankes to the people on the *Sachims* behalfe, and after acquainteth the *Sachim* therewith, who fetcheth the same, and is no lesse thankefull, bestowing many gifts on them.

When any are visited with sicknesse, their friends resort vnto them for their comfort, and continue with them oft-

times till their death or recouery. If they die they ſtay a certaine time to mourne for them. Night and morning they performe this duetie many dayes after the buriall in a moſt dolefull manner, inſomuch as though it be ordinary and the more muſicall, which they take one from another, and all together, yet it will draw teares from their eyes, & almoſt from ours alſo. But if they recouer then becauſe their ſickneſſe was chargeable, they ſend corne and other gifts vnto them at a certaine appointed time, whereat they feaſt and dance, which they call *Commoco*.

When they bury the dead they ſow vp the corps in a mat and ſo put it in the earth. If the party bee a *Sachim* they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and incloſe the graue with a pale. If it bee a childe the father will alſo put his owne moſt ſpeciall iewels and ornaments in the earth with it, alſo will cut his haire and diſfigure himſelfe very much in token of ſorrow. If it be the man or woman of the houſe, they will pull downe the mattes and leaue the frame ſtanding, and burie them in or neere the ſame, and either remoue their dwelling or giue ouer houſe-keeping.

The men imploy themſelues wholly in hunting, and other exerciſes of the bow, except at ſome times they take ſome paines in fiſhing.

The women liue a moſt ſlauiſh life, they carry all their burdens, ſet and dreſſe their corne, gather it in, ſeeke out for much of their food, beare and make ready the corne to eate, and haue all houſhold care lying vpon them.

The younger ſort reuerence the elder, and do all meane offices whilſt they are together, although they bee ſtrangers. Boyes and girles may not weare their haire like men and women, but are diſtinguiſhed thereby.

A man is not accounted a man till he doe ſome notable act, or ſhew forth ſuch courage and reſolution as becommeth his place. The men take much tobacco, but for boyes ſo to doe they account it odious.

All their names are ſignificant and variable; for when they

they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

When a maide is taken in marriage she first cutteth her haire, and after weareth a couering on her head till her hayre be growne out. Their women are diuerſly diſpoſed, ſome as modeſt as they will ſcarce talke one with another in the company of men, being very chaſte alſo: yet other ſome light, laſcriuious and wanton.

If a woman haue a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there be warre or oppoſition betweene that and any other people, ſhee will runne away from him to the contrary party and there liue, where they neuer come vnwelcome: for where are moſt women, there is greateſt plenty.

When a woman hath her monethly termes ſhee ſeparateth her ſelfe from all other company, and liueth certaine dayes in a houſe alone: after which ſhe waſheth her ſelfe and all that ſhee hath touched or vſed, and is againe receiued to her husbands bed or family.

For adultery the husband will beate his wife and put her away, if he pleaſe. Some common ſtrumpets there are as well as in other places, but they are ſuch as either neuer marryed, or widowes, or put away for adultery: for no man will keepe ſuch an one to wife.

In matters of vniuſt and diſ-honeſt dealing the *Sachim* examineth and puniſheth the ſame. In caſe of theft, for the firſt offence he is diſgracefully rebuked, for the ſecond beaten by the *Sachim* with a cudgell on the naked backe, for the third hee is beaten with many ſtroakes, and hath his noſe ſlit vpward, that thereby all men may both know and ſhun him. If any man kill another, hee muſt likewiſe die for the ſame. The *Sachim* not onely paſſeth the ſentence vpon malefactors, but executeth the ſame with his owne hands, if the party be then preſent; if not, ſendeth his owne knife in caſe of death, in the hands of others to performe the ſame. But if the offender bee to receiue other puniſhment, hee will not receiue the ſame but from the

Sachim himselfe, before whom being naked he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away though hee beate him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, then is his offence and punishment.

As for their apparell they weare breeches and stockings in one like some *Irish*, which is made of Deare skinnes, and haue shooes of the same leather. They weare also a Dears skin loose about them like a cloake, which they will turne to the weather side. In this habit they travell, but when they are at home or come to their iourneys end, presently they pull off their breeches, stockins, and shooes, wring out the water if they bee wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet haue they another small garment that coucreth their secrets. The men weare also when they goe abroad in colde weather an Otter or Foxe skin on their right arme, but onely their bracer on the left. Women and all of that sexe weare strings about their legs, which the men neuer doe.

The people are very ingenious and obseruatiue, they keepe account of time by the moone, and winters or summers; they know diuerse of the starres by name, in particular, they know the North-starre and call it maske, which is to say the beare. Also they haue many names for the windes. They will guesse very well at the winde and weather before hand, by obseruations in the heauens. They report also, that some of them can cause the winde to blow in what part they list, can raise stormes and tempests which they vsually doe when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the vnseasonable weather they may take aduantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they performe their greatest exployts, and in such seasons when they are at enmity with any, they keepe more carefull watch then at other times.

As for the language it is very copious, large, and difficult, as yet we cannot attaine to any great measure thereof;

 but

but can vnderstand them, and explaine our selues to their vnderstanding, by the helpe of those that daily converse with vs. And though there be difference in an hundred miles distance of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well vnderstand each other. And thus much of their lawes and manners.

In stead of Records and Chronicles, they take this course, where any remarkeable act is done, in memorie of it either in the place, or by some path-way neere adioyning, they make a round hole in the ground about a foote deepe, and as much over, which when others passing by behold, they enquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once knowne, they are carefull to acquaint all men, as occasion serueth therewith. And least such holes should be filled, or growne vp by any accident, as men passe by they will oft renew the same. By which meanes many things of great Antiquitie are fresh in memorie. So that as a man trauelleth, if he can vnderstand his guide, his iourney will be the lesse tedious, by reason of the many historicall Discourses will be related vnto him.

In all this it may be said, I haue neither praysed nor dispraysed the Country, and since I liued so long therein, my iudgement therof will giue no lesse satisfaction to them that know me, then the Relation of our proceedings. To which I answere, that as in one so of the other, I will speake as sparingly as I can, yet will make knowne what I obserue thereof.

And first for that Continent, and Hands, which are called *New England*, although in former time it hath been conceiued by the English to be a part of that maine Land adioyning to *Virginia*, yet by relation of the *Indians* it should appeare to be otherwise: for they affirme constantly, that it is an Hand, and that either the *Dutch* or *French* passe diuers times from Sea to Sea, betweene vs and *Canada*, and driue a great Trade in those parts. The name of that inlet of the Sea they call *Mohegon*, which I take to be the same which we call *Hudsons* River, vp which Master *Hudson* vvent many

Leagues, and for want of meanes (as I heare) left it vndiscouered. For confirmation of this, their opinion is thus much; Though *Virginia* be not aboue an hundred and fiftie Leagues from vs, yet they neuer heard of *Powhatan*, or knew that any English were planted in his Country, saue onely by vs and *Tisquantum*, who went in an English Ship thither: And therefore it is the more probable, because the water is not passable for them, who are very adventurous in their Boates.

Then for the temperature of the ayre, in almost three yeares experience, I can scarce distinguish *New-England* from *Old England*, in respect of heate, and cold, frost, snow, raine, winds, &c. Some obiect, because our Plantation lieth in the latitude of 42. it must needs be much hotter. I confesse, I cannot giue the reason of the contrary; onely experience teacheth vs, that if it doe exceed *England*, it is so little as must require better iudgements to discerne it. And for the Winter, I rather thinke (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in *New-England* then *Old*; and yet the want of those comforts in the one which I haue enioyed in the other, may deceiue my iudgment also. But in my best obseruation, comparing our owne condition with the Relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceiue of any to agree better with the constitution of the English, not being oppressed with extremitie of heate, nor nipped with biting cold, by which meanes, blessed be God, wee enioy our health, notwithstanding, those difficulties, wee haue vnder-gone, in such a measure as would haue beene admired, if wee had liued in *England* with the like meanes.

The day is two houres longer then here when it is at the shortest, and as much shorter there, when it is at the longest.

The soile is variable, in some places mould, in some clay, others, a mixed sand, &c. The chiefest graine is the *Indian* Mays, or *Guiny*-Wheate; the seed-time beginneth in midst of Aprill, and continueth good till the midst of

May.

May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corne increaseth in great measure, but is inferiour in quantitie to the same in *Virginia*, the reason I conceiue, is because *Virginia* is farre hotter then it is with vs, it requiring great heate to ripen; but whereas it is obiected against *New-England*, that Corne will not there grow, except the ground be manured with fish? I answere, That where men set with fish (as with vs) it is more ease so to doe then to cleare ground and set without some fue or sixe yeares, and so begin anew, as in *Virginia* and else-where. Not but that in some places, where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the *Indians* set foure yeares together without, and haue as good Corne or better then we haue that set with them, though indeed I thinke if wee had Cattell to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soile, to sow Wheate, Rye, Barley, Peate, and Oats, then to set Mays, which our *Indians* call *Wmachim*: for we haue had experience that they like and thriue well; and the other will not be procured without good labour and diligence, especially at seed-time, when it must also be watched by night to keepe the Wolues from the fish, till it be rotten, which will be in foure teene dayes; yet men agreeing together, and taking their turnes it is not much.

Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall here plant by Trade with the *Indians* for Furs, if men take a right course for obtaining the same, for I dare presume vpon that small experience I haue had, to affirme, that the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, returne yeerely many thousand pounds profits by Trade onely from that *Iland*, on which we are seated.

Tobacco may be there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equall, because fish is a better and richer Commoditie, and more necessary, which may be and are there had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; Wherefore the West-coun-

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try Merchants of *England*, which returne incredible gaines yearely from thence. And if they can so doe which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more Company to make their voyage, then will saile their Ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and imploy themselues at least eight moneths in fishing, whereas the other fish but foure, and haue their ship lie dead in the harbour all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to plantations, may take fraight of passengers or cattell thither, and haue their lading provided against they come. I confesse, we haue come so farre short of the meanes to raise such returnes, as with great difficultie wee haue preserved our liues, so much, as when I looke backe vpon our condition, and weake meanes to preserue the same, I rather admire at Gods mercy and providence in our preservation, then that so greater things haue beene effected by vs. But though our beginning haue beene thus raw, small, and difficult, as thou hast seene, yet the same God that hath hitherto led vs thorow the former, I hope will raise meanes to accomplish the latter. Not that we altogether, or principally propound profit to be the maine end of that we haue vndertaken, but the glory of God, and the honour of our Country, in the inlarging of his Maiesties Dominions, yet wanting outward meanes to set things in that forwardnesse we desire, and to further the latter by the former, I thought meete to offer both to consideration, hoping that where Religion and profit iumpe together (which is rare) in so honourable an action, it will encourage euery honest man, either in person or purse, to set forward the same, or at least-wise to commend the welfare thereof in his daily prayers to the blessing of the blessed God.

I will not againe speake of the abundance of fowle, store of Venison, and varietie of Fish, in their seasons, which might incourage many to goe in their persons, onely I aduise all such before hand to consider, that as they leaue of Countries that abound with the good creatures of

God, so meanes must be vsed for the taking of euery one in his kinde, and therefore not onely to content themselues that there is sufficient, but to foresee how they shall be able to obtaine the same, otherwise, as he that walketh *London* streetes, though he be in the middest of plentie, yet if he want meanes, is not the better but hath rather his sorrow increased by the sight of that he wanteth, and cannot enioy it: so also there, if thou want art and other necessaries thereunto belonging; thou maist see that thou wantest, and thy heart desireth, and yet be never the better for the same. Therefore if thou see thine owne insufficiencie of thy selfe, then ioyne to some others, where thou maiest in some measure enioy the same, otherwise assure thy selfe, thou art better where thou art. Some there be that thinking altogether of their present wants they enioy here, and not dreaming of any there, through indiscretion plunge themselues into a deeper sea of misery. As for example, it may be here, rent and firing are so chargeable, as without great difficultie a man cannot accomplish the same; neuer considering, that as he shall haue no rent to pay, so he must build his house before he haue it, and peradventure may with more ease pay for his fuell here, then cut and fetch it home, if he haue not cattell to draw it there, though there is no scarcitie but rather too great plentie.

I write not these things to dissuade any that shall seriously vpon due examination for themselues to further the glory of God, and the honour of our Countrey, in so worthy an Enterprise, but rather to discourage such as with too great lightnesse vndertake such courses, who peradventure straine themselues and their friends for their passage thither, and are no sooner there, then seeing their foolish imagination made voyde, are at their wits end, and would giue ten times so much for their returne, if they could procure it, and out of such discontented passions

and humors, ſpare not to lay that imputation vpon the Country, and others, which themſelues deſerue.

As for example, I haue heard ſome complaine of others for their large reports of *New-England*, and yet becauſe they muſt drinke water and want many delicates they here enioyed, could preſently returne with their mouthes full of clamours. And can any bee ſo ſimple as to conceiue that the fountaines ſhould ſtreame forth Wine, or Beare, or the woods and rivers be like Butchers-ſhops, or Fiſh-mongers ſtalles, where they might haue things taken to their hands. If thou canſt not liue without ſuch things, and haſt no meanes to procure the one, and wilt not take paines for the other, nor haſt ability to employ others for thee, reſt where thou art: for as a proud heart, a dainty tooth, a beggers purſe, and an idle hand, bee here intollerable, ſo that perſon that hath theſe qualities there, is much more abhominable. If therefore God hath giuen thee a heart to vndertake ſuch courſes, vpon ſuch grounds as beare thee out in all difficulties, *viz.* his glory as a principall, and all other outward good things but as acceſſaries, which peradventure thou ſhalt enioy, and it may be not: then thou wilt with true comfort and thankfulnes receiue the leaſt of his mercies; whereas on the contrary, men deprriue themſelues of much happineſſe, being ſenſleſſe of greater bleſſings, and through preiudice ſmoother vp the loue and bounty of God, whoſe name be euer glorified in vs, and by vs, now and euermore. *Amen.*

FINIS.

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A Postscript.

IF any man desire a more ample relation of the State of this Countrie, before such time as this present relation taketh place, I referre them to the two former printed bookes: The one published by the President *and* Councell *for* New-England, *and the other gathered by the Inhabitants of this present Plantation at* Plimouth *in* New-England: *Both which bookes are to be sold by* Iohn Bellamy, *at his shop at the three golden Lions in Corne-hill neere the* Royall Exchange.

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